

A CONCISE BLACKFOOT GRAMMAR



# A CONCISE BLACKFOOT GRAMMAR

BASED ON MATERIAL FROM THE SOUTHERN PEIGANS

BY

C. C. UHLENBECK

VERHANDELINGEN DER KONINKLIJKE NEDERLANDSCHE AKADEMIE  
VAN WETENSCHAPPEN TE AMSTERDAM, AFDEELING LETTERKUNDE

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## PREFACE.

This paper does not pretend to give more than the outlines of Blackfoot grammar. The facts contained in it were collected in Blackfoot Reservation, Teton County, Montana, for the greater part by myself, in the course of two summers, 1910 and 1911. In 1910 I was helped in my field-work most efficiently by Dr. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong. Back at home after the second trip, while studying out our grammatical notes, I had for some time, though at different periods of my life, the advantage of the collaboration, first, of Dr. G. J. Geers, and, many years later, of Dr. R. H. van Gulik. In this grammar I did not avail myself of field-work done by others, among whom Dr. T. Michelson more than anybody else deserves to be mentioned by name, not because I was not aware of the indubitable scientific worth of their exertions, but because I wanted to give only my own and my collaborators' observations and impressions.

I want to express my gratitude to Dr. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong for taking upon himself the whole correction of this present paper, and to the Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers-Maatschappij for the great care given to the printing of it.

I hope not to overrate the merits of this grammatical essay, if I think, as I really do, that it may be of some slight use to students of Algonquian languages and of general linguistics.

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## CHAPTER I.

### Phonology.

#### § 1. Preliminary remarks.

The phonological system of Blackfoot is comparatively simple, so that there is scarcely any need of using diacritical signs in a broad transcription of its sounds. The only trouble is to know which sounds of those that occur in Blackfoot are to be considered as phonemes. Though I have retained the use of *e* and *u* respectively, by the side of *i* and *o*, I strongly suspect that these four signs represent only two phonemes, viz. *i* : *e* and *u* : *o*, and that it perhaps would have been preferable to use accordingly two symbols. I have also some grave doubts about the desirability of using the symbol *â* by the side of *o* (*ö*). In our dictionaries *â* in closed syllables indicates a short vowel, akin to, but more open than, the short *o* (*ö*), but it is very difficult to draw a line between the cases where *â* or *o* (*ö*) would be required. By this time I incline to the conclusion that the use of the symbol *â* might be in its place when one would give a narrow transcription of Blackfoot, but that it safely might be replaced by *o* (*ö*) in a broad transcription. In my texts accentuated *â* in open syllables is used for a long vowel, but in my grammatical essays I have made use of the sign *ā* instead. Nor am I quite certain about the phonological character of the sound represented by *ā*. Perhaps this sound is no distinct phoneme, but only a variant of the diphthong *au*, and, in some cases, of the long vowel *a* (*ā*). Another sign I have made use of and perhaps better might have dispensed with is the Greek epsilon. The open *ē*-sound I have assigned to it in my texts and grammatical essays sometimes represents a post-consonantal group *ia* (e.g. *kénni* = *ki ánni*), sometimes originates from the diphthong *ai* before *s* (e.g. *Okoésau* = *Okoáisau*). More often, however, *ai* before *s* has remained unchanged, or has become *a*. Nor is *ā*, a long variety of *ε*, and also a monophthongization of *ai*, to be registered as a true phoneme. Among the signs listed in the next paragraph the reader will find *y* and *w* for the consonantal *i* and *u*, but in most cases I have retained the symbols *i* and *u* even when the sounds represented by them function as consonants (*w* is practically not made use of in this present volume). Certainly *y* and *w* are no real phonemes, to be distinguished in broad transcription from *i* and *u* respectively. I am aware that there are many inconsistencies in my way of spelling, but to remove them would have caused me great and, I trust, unnecessary trouble. The orthography of this grammar is the same as in the two vocabularies published before (1930).

and 1934). So Walter Mountain-chief's emphatical endings *-a* and *-i* are omitted. Instead of *ux*, *âx*, *uks*, *uts* in most cases the spelling *ox*, *oks*, *ots* has been preferred. Before *nn* and *χ* I usually write *a* instead of *α*. I have only one thing to add to these general observations on the mutual relation of sounds and phonemes in Blackfoot. It is perfectly clear, that *χ* and *x*, though physiologically and acoustically very different from each other (see the next paragraph) represent only one phoneme, *x* being the palatalized variant of *χ* after *i*, or diphthongs with *i* as second component.

About quantity of vowels there is not much to be said. There are only a few constant long vowels in Blackfoot, but vowels with principal or secondary stress are usually longer than the unaccentuated, and accentuated vowels may be incidentally prolonged to a degree, uncommon in most of the European languages. Under these circumstances I did not think it desirable to use the makron. Nor did I deem it necessary to indicate the shortness of a vowel, except in a few special cases, because most unaccentuated vowels are shorter than those with principal or secondary stress. Constantly short, e.g., is the *a* of the suffix *-koān* (in *akékoān*, etc.), and the accentuated *i* of the numeral *ixkitsika*. All vowels, accentuated or not, are short before long (geminated) consonants, wherefore it is unnecessary to indicate the shortness in every particular case. Where it is absolutely necessary to indicate the shortness of a vowel, i.e. where this shortness does not follow from a general rule, I do it by using the brevis.

In Blackfoot a consonant in the body of a word often belongs both to the preceding and the following syllable, and then we might write it double as well as single. Only rarely I express this gemination in writing, because in most cases it is not constant. Where it is very emphatic, so that there may be no doubt whatever of the length (gemination) of the consonant, as in some cases with *mm*, *nn*, *pp*, *ss*, I write doubles.

When *i*, *u*, and the diphthongs with *i*, *u* as second component stand before a vowel, most times a connecting semi-vowel is heard. So, e.g., the word for "bear" is usually pronounced *kyáiyō*, though sometimes we may distinctly hear *kyáyo*, the diphthong *ai* being split up into *a* + *i* and the *i* functioning as semi-vowel. In both cases I write *kyáio*. As to the frequent diphthong-like combinations of vowels, it is to be observed that they often split up into the vowels which are their components.

The language is often broken by glottal stops, but how far these stops are constant, I am not able to ascertain. Where, for the sake of clearness, it seems necessary to indicate them, I use the sign of the Greek spiritus lenis. Perhaps I ought to have written them in some cases more. So they are often heard at the end of verbal forms in *-o* (*-o'*), as *áitótó* (*áitótó'*). But here in less emphatical speech the glottal stop is not present. Without any doubt, the glottal stop very often introduces an initial vowel in the beginning of a sentence, though after so many years since I heard Blackfoot spoken I dare not ascertain the exact degree or constancy of its presence.

The attentive reader of my own, and of de Josselin de Jong's, texts will soon discover that the same word in the same grammatical form, and seemingly under similar circumstances, is not always spelt in the same way. Partly, of course, this may be due to subjective causes, but even admitting this much, I have to state that there are many vacillations in the sounding of the language that can by no means be explained away. Such is, e.g., the seemingly arbitrary putting in, or omitting,  $\chi$  and  $x$  before explosives, and before  $s$ , which is especially to be observed in certain verbal forms. In general I have thought it better to express such vacillations in my way of spelling than to obliterate them by an arbitrary uniform orthography. Still, as in the vocabularies published by myself with the valiant help of R. H. van Gulik, I have allowed myself slight changes in the spelling of the published texts, most in those collected by de Josselin de Jong.

## § 2. Key to the symbols used.

### Vowels.

$a$  It has nearly the sound of German  $a$ , sometimes long and sometimes short. When it is long, it sounds like  $a$  in German *Rat*, *Tag*. When it is short, it is more like the sound of  $a$  in German *Mann*. It is most times long, when it has a principal or secondary stress. It is short before  $\chi$ ,  $mm$ ,  $nn$ , and in all unaccentuated syllables. It is also constantly short in some other exceptional cases, and then I write  $\tilde{a}$ , making use of the brevis, because otherwise there would be some danger of mispronunciation.

$\tilde{a}$  See above.

$\tilde{a}$  A long open vowel with the sound of French  $\hat{e}$  in *être*, *gêne*. It is usually a contraction of the diphthong  $ai$  ( $\tilde{a}i$ ). De Josselin de Jong often uses the symbol  $\tilde{a}$  in his texts, but I always prefer to write  $ai$ , whether this diphthong is monophthongized or not.

$\hat{a}$  In this grammar I use the symbol  $\hat{a}$  only for a short vowel, which sounds much the same as German  $o$  in *möchte*. In my texts accentuated  $\hat{a}$  in open syllables is used for a long vowel, but here  $\tilde{a}$  and  $\hat{a}$  are always replaced by  $\tilde{a}$ .

$\tilde{a}$  A long vowel that sounds like English  $a$  in *fall*, though it is not so very different from Blackfoot accentuated  $a$ , or from English  $a$  in *father*.

$\alpha$  A short vowel, the quality of which is very much akin to that of  $\hat{a}$ . We may not be far amiss in identifying the sound of  $\alpha$  with that of English  $u$  in *but*. The Peigans often waver between  $\alpha$  and  $a$ .

$e$  Long  $e$  sounds like German  $ee$  in *Seele*, while short  $e$  has nearly the sound of  $\acute{e}$  in French *fermé*. But, be it long or short, it is always more inclining to  $i$  than either German  $ee$  or French  $\acute{e}$  will be. When  $e$  has a principal or a secondary stress, it will be long. In other cases it is short.

$\epsilon$  A short vowel, with the sound of German *Messer*, *kennen*. I have made a spare use of this symbol, in my texts as well as in my later writings.

$i$  A sound between French  $\acute{e}$  and French  $i$ . When it has a principal or a secondary stress, it is most times long, and then Peigan pronunciation

often wavers between *i* and *e*. It is short before *pp*, *mm*, *nn*, and in all unaccentuated syllables. It is also constantly short in some other exceptional cases, in which I write *ī*, making use of the brevis. Before vowels it is apt to be reduced to the semi-vowel *y*, but generally, though not always, I have retained the sign *i*.

o When it has a principal or secondary stress, except before *χ*, it is long, and then it sounds like German *o* in *rot*. When it is not accentuated, it has the same, or nearly the same, sound, though shorter in duration. In unaccentuated syllables, especially before *χ*. Peigan pronunciation often wavers between *o* and *â*, or even between *o* and *a* (*a*). On the other side, even in accentuated syllables, there are vacillations between *o* and *u*.

u A sound between German *o* in *rot* and *u* in *rufen*. When it is short, which will be in unaccentuated syllables and before *χ*, *mm*, *nn*, it sounds much like English *u* in *full*, or like Northern German *u* in *Zunft*. Before vowels it will often be reduced to the semi-vowel *w*, but generally I have retained the symbol *u*.

### Diphthongs.

Blackfoot has many combinations of vowels, such as *ai*, *au*, *ei*, *eu*, *iu*, *oi*, *ui*, *uo*, which often sound as true diphthongs, though they are apt to split up into their components. The most diphthong-like among them are *ai* and *au*. In *ai* the *a* has been more or less influenced by the following *i*, the result being that the diphthong often sounds like *äi*, or even, the second component having altogether or nearly altogether disappeared, like a long *ä*. In my texts I write *ai*, even then. Only where the final result of the monophthongization has been an *ε*, I write this vowel with its own sign. But I write *a* (in certain cases *u*, especially before *s*), when the second component has disappeared without having palatalized the first one. As to *au* is to be noted, that it sounds like German *au* in *Baum*, *Haus*, and that it easily passes into *o* and *â* (*a*).

### Semi-vowels.

y It sounds like English *y* in *yell*, *year*. It often originates from *i* before another vowel. I relatively seldom use the sign *y*, retaining in most cases the symbol *i*. The semi-vowel *y* is always heard between *i* and a following vowel, but then I did not think it necessary to express it in writing.

w The same sound as English *w*. Most times it has sprung from antevocalic *u*. Generally I have preferred to retain the sign *u*, so that the symbol *w* has been made use of only in a few words. Between *u* and a following vowel *w* is always heard, but not written in this present grammar.

### Consonants.

*m* As in English *more*.

*n* As in English *never*.

*p* As in French *père*, not as in English *put*.

*t* As in French *tuer*, not as in English *to*. Before *i* it has been assimilated to *ts*.

*k* Before *i* (*y*), *e*, and *ε* (from *ia*) it sounds like French *qu* in *qui*, but somewhat more palatalized. In other cases it has the same sound as French *qu* in *quand*. Blackfoot *k* never has the value of English *c* in *cut*. Before *i* we often find *ks*, originating from *k*.

*χ* It has nearly the same sound as German *ch* in *ach*, but it is pronounced more backward.

*x* Originating from *χ* after *i* (and after diphthongs with *i* as second component, or their monophthongization), it has exactly the same sound as German *ch* in *ich*. In my texts I used the symbol *χ* instead of *x*.

Glottal stop. I write it only in a few cases, though it is very often heard in the language. Sometimes a glottal stop occurs before *t*, e.g. in *aitó'tó'*, and in the imperative-ending *-t* (*matsi't* = *matsit*), and this may give the erroneous impression that the *t* itself is emphatic. But the same glottal stop will be found before other consonants (cf. *mí'ni*, *ní'sa*, *kó's*, *áikó'ko'*, etc.). Walter Mountain-chief makes an ample use of the glottal stop in his emphatic endings *-a*, *-i*, which seem to be particular to the narrating-style of his family.

*h* As English *h* in *hand*. This sound principally occurs in some interjections (*há*, *há'aiám*, *háié*), but occasionally it is heard also in emphatic verbal forms as *ákakáukòp*, *áiksistàkahauki'a*.

*s* A kind of voiceless sibilant, pronounced more backward than English *s*. It reminds of the *s* of certain Basque dialects.

### § 3. Waverings in sound and inconsistencies in spelling.

There are many vacillations in the pronunciation of the Blackfoot vowels, but inconsistencies in our way of spelling are perhaps still more frequent. I am quite certain, however, that in the real language accentuated and unaccentuated *o* before *y* tends to change into *u* (*itsinúyiu* = *itsinóyiu*, *oxkúyi* = *oxkóyi* = *oxkói*), and that *ox*, *oks*, *ots* will often impress the ear as *ux* (or *âx*), *uks*, *uts*. (*múxt-* = *mâxt-* = *moxt<sup>e</sup>*, *nitúkska* = *nitókska*, *á pistutsim* = *á pistotsim*). Even in other conditions *o* will sometimes change into *u* (*áiistapù* = *áiistapò*). As, on the one hand, we often hear *a* instead of *o* in unaccentuated syllables (*Akoísau* = *Okoáisau*), and, on the other hand, there is an unmistakable interchange of *a* and *o*, it is not to be wondered at, when, now and then, we find *a* instead of *o* or *u* (*nitsam-mòk* = *nitsummòk* = *nitsomòk*). A frequent interchange is to be noted between *om* and *um* (*nitsummosi* = *nitsomosi*). Of the same kind is the interchange of *on* (*aun*) and *unn* (*nitúnnots* = *nitáunots*). Very common are the sound-shifts *au* : *o* (*Ninoxkyàio* = *Ninauxkyàio*, *nitáinok* = *nitáin-nauk*, *áikòp* = *áikòkaup*) and *ai* : *a*, *ai* : *o* (especially before *s*, but also in other cases). Examples of all these sound-shifts abound in the Blackfoot-English Vocabulary, and as my only aim in writing this concise gram-



metrical sketch is to provide the Algonquian student with a handy tool for his comparative researches, I think it would be superfluous to give a complete and systematical survey of all of them. Some of them have been alluded to already in the preceding paragraphs. Especial notice, however, deserve the shifts  $\ddot{a} : a$ , and  $i : e$ . As to  $\ddot{a}$  and  $a$ , it might seem that  $a$  has a predilection for accentuated syllables (*kátai-* by the side of *katái*, i.e. *kátái-*), though this will not always appear from our texts. A good example of the sound-shift  $i : e$  is the numeral prefix *nit-* : *net-* (*-it-* : *-et-*), cf. *kinétoʒkanistoʒkot kixtsipimiuaʒk* *I still give you a striped one*, *imakétokuyitoʒkònimàsau notokâni* *if they find only one hair of my head*, by the side of *nitanistsinatsiau ânni áskakʒkuyi* (*the ribs*) *looked like a short-back butte*, *ninítotsii* *I have one hand*, etc.

The consonantism of Blackfoot does not show such waverings, so that, practically, there are no interchanges between its consonants to be registered. The only thing to be mentioned here is the seemingly arbitrary presence or absence of  $\chi$  ( $x$ ) before explosives (especially  $p$ ) and  $s$ , though this phenomenon is certainly confined to some morphological categories. Therefore I shall have to return to it yet. Among the younger people there are many who change *ks* to *ts*, but this is not considered to be good Blackfoot. Nor, I think, is the habit of one person I know to pronounce *ki-* instead of *ksi-* (*nikista* = *niksista*). How cases, as *pitséksina* : *pikséksina* *snake* and *kʒksists-* : *kʒksiks-* *to saw* are to be judged of, is doubtful, as authoritative old and middle-aged Indians prefer *pitséksina*, *kʒksist*.

#### § 4. Intermutational phenomena.

Not to be confounded with the irregular and seemingly arbitrary waverings in the pronunciation of vowels, treated in the preceding paragraph are the regular vocalic intermutations with grammatical meaning. The following intermutations are to be observed:

$a : o$ . Many nouns with an initial  $a$  ( $\alpha$ ) change that vowel into  $o$  in case of prefixation or in composition with a preceding element of any kind, e.g. *apís rope* : *nitópimi my rope*, *otópimi his rope*; *amíxkàtsis fish-pole* : *nitomíxkàtsis my fish-pole*; *amopistâniks beaver-rolls* : *nitómopistâniks my beaver-rolls*; *aksin bed* : *nitóksin my bed*, *kitóksin your bed*, *otóksin his bed*. There are also some words with initial *ma-* (*ma-*) that change their  $a$  ( $\alpha$ ) into  $o$ , after the *m-* has disappeared (v. below), e.g. *mamiu fish* : *nitomím my fish*, *kitomím your fish*, *otomím his fish*, *sasákomiú trout*, *ksiksikiómiú white-fish*, *kétoʒkòmiú sucker*; *makúyi wolf* : *otókuyisina band of wolves*. The same intermutation in the same conditions is found in other parts of the grammar, e.g. *amai-* : *-omai-* (*-umai-*) *very*; *akát rope, snare* (imperative) : *nitók (nitsék) I rope, I snare*, *nitókatau (nitsékatau) I rope him, I snare him*; *makap-* : *-okap-* (*ikap-*) *bad*; *mákasiu he picks up* : *kakókasatòminai he* (4 p.) *just picked it up*. Where we find *au-* (*-au-*) by the side of *a-* or *ma-* in verbal forms, this *au-* is a contraction

of the durative-iterative prefix *au-* with *-o-*, the intermutational compositional phase of *a-* or *mā-*, e.g. áukèkau *he camps* : akékàni *camp* (cf. ikékau *he camps*); áukàpsiu : makápsiu (ikápsiu) *he is bad*.

*i* : *o*. Many nouns with an initial *i* change this vowel into *o*, whenever they are preceded by a compositional element of any kind, e.g. iksisakò *meat* : nitòksisakom *my meat*, komóksisako *round piece of meat*, matà-pioksisàko *human flesh*; imitá *dog* : nitòmitàm *my dog*, skí'miòmita *bitch*, ksistòmita *wild dog*; Ipióaɣs *Morning-star* : Paɣtsópisòaɣs *False-Morning-star*; ixtáikaɣksiststakiòpi *saw* : mátoɣtaikaɣksiststakiòpi *another saw*. The element *ixt-* in such nouns as the last one mentioned is the very usual praeverbium *ixt-* *from, along, for, with*, which after a prefix always changes its *i* into *o*. By the side of *ixt-* we find *moɣt-* also with *o*. The same relations obtain in cases as *ixk-* : *-oɣk-* : *moɣk-* *ended*; *ixp-* : *-oɣp-* *with*; *imai-* : *-omai-* *still, yet*; *imat-* : *-omat-* (by the side of *-imat-*) *starting*. In the verb we often observe the same intermutation, e.g. ixkótakiu *he gives* : nitoxkótaki *I give*; ixpátakiu *he carries* : nitoxpátaki *I carry*. Remembering what is said in another paragraph about the relation of *e* and *i*, we understand that cases with the intermutation *e* : *o* are not to be separated from those with the intermutation *i* : *o*, e.g. èpiu *he has an arrow* : mátopiu *he has also an arrow, he has another arrow*, imaykópiu *he has a big arrow*; émaniu *he is right* : mátomaniuat *he is not right* (cf. amánnisi *if he was right with a-*); ekáu *he ropes* : nitók *I rope* (by the side of nitsék). In some cases, as imayk- : omayk- *big*, we find *o-* by the side of *i-* even as initial vowel.

*i* : *a*. There are not a few cases of derivatives from words containing *i*, or compounds of such words, in which this *i* has been changed into *a*. They are, however, not so numerous that we can speak here of a "living" intermutation. Sooner we may consider them as survivals of a formerly more usual type. I noticed the following examples: nániso *eight*, originally a reduplicated distributive of nisó *four*; nánautokàn *skull*, nānāpinu *has a man's eyes*, nānaikinakim *has a man's legs*, Nānainiki *Kills-the-chief* (a woman's name), containing as first member a modified form of ninau *man, chief*; napui-, nap- *standing*, a variant of nipui-, nip- *standing*; nānoyiū : -inoyiū *he sees him*; nitáuàmi *I smell*, áuàmiu *he smells* : imó, imói *it smells*; ksásiu *he hides* : nitáiksisatoyɣ *I hide it*, nitáiksisatau *I hide him*; nānixkiàsiu (ki nānixkiasiu *ómi otsipisini'a and there was a song for it, when she was going in* : matsínixkiàsiu (ki itákaupisi'a, matsínixkiasiu *and when she was going to sit down, there was another song for it*), cf. nínixkiu, áinixkiu *he sings*. As to ánisau *he came down* I am in doubt, whether it is an intermutation-form of inisau, or a variant of (misheard for?) áinisau (contraction of ái-inisau).

There is yet another phenomenon that may impress us as a kind of intermutation, viz. the very common initial interchange of *n-* with zero, and *m-* with zero. So most nouns beginning with *n* lose this consonant in case of prefixation or in composition with a preceding element of any kind,

e.g. *ninau man, chief* : *nitsinaim my chief, otsinaim his chief, stámiksinau chief-bull (bull-chief)*; *nápi old man* : *nitsápi I am an old man*; *napim male animal* : *otápi otàs his male horse*; *nitsitápi Indian* : *kanáitsitapi all Indians*; *nlinxkasim name* : *nitsinixkàsım my name*; *náipistsi blanket* : *apáipistsi white blanket*; *natáio wild-cat* : *ómaḡkatáio mountain-lion*; *namáḡkimátsis broom* : *nitsamáḡkimátsis my broom*; *napáini flour* : *miks-kapáini biscuit*. There are only a few exceptions from this rule, as *námau gun* and *námái bow*, which retain their *n-* throughout the possessive paradigm as well as in composition with preceding elements, other than possessive prefixes. The same relation of *n-* : zero obtains in other parts of the grammatical system. So *namáḡkimátsis*, mentioned above, derives from *namaḡki-* to sweep, the compositional form of which is *-amaḡki-*, and *nitsitápi Indian* contains the prefix *hit-* one (etc.), which after another prefix very often, though by no means always, loses its *n-*. I shall give some more examples: *nápistsi* : *-apistsi blind*; *ninixk-* : *-inixk-* to sing; *nin-* (*nan-*) : *-in-* to see; *nipuyi-* : *-ipuyi-* to stand; *nam-* : *-am-* eastward; *nam-* : *-am-* only, just; *natoi-* : *-atoi-* having medicine-power; *nim-* : *-im-* westward; *noḡkétsi* : *-oḡketsi-* different, etc. (cf. also the numerals, beginning with *n-*, and losing it after preceding compositional elements). There are, however, prefixes with initial *n-* that do not drop it in any case, e.g. *nat-* just, only; *nánai-* finally; *noḡt-* from, for, with.

Of the nouns, beginning with *m-* and losing it after a prefix or other compositional element, the majority is to be judged of in a different way. In most names of parts of the body the initial *m-*, or the initial syllable *mo-*, is properly a pronominal prefix with the distinct meaning "somebody's", and that it is dropped in the other forms of the possessive paradigm needs no special explanation. E.g. *maáuyi somebody's mouth*, *moḡkátsis somebody's foot*, but *naáuyi my mouth*, *kaáuyi your mouth* and *noḡkátsis my foot*, *oḡkátsis his foot*. Where it is only *m-* (not *mo-*) that indicates the indefinite possession, as in *maáuyi mouth*, *matsini tongue*, the same *m-* returns in the definite possessive form of the third person, so that *maáuyi*, *matsini* are also used for *his mouth*, *his tongue*, in the same way as *maáḡsi* means *his grand-parent*, *his parent-in-law*, by the side of which there is no indefinite possessive form. It stands to reason that in such cases there is no question of an intermutation *m-* : zero, but of a morphological process. There are also some other words, beginning with *m-* or *mo-*, not denoting parts of the body, which are to be judged of in the same way. So *m-* and *mo-* in *matsikin moccasin*, *maiái robe*, *moksís awl*, *moḡsokó trail* will be the same indefinite prefixes as in *maáuyi*, *moḡkátsis* (cf. *natsikin my moccasin*, *naíaiua my robe*, *noksís my awl*, *noḡsokúı my trail*).

Nevertheless, in many other cases the existence of an intermutation *m-* : zero is not to be doubted, whatever its origin may be (historical explanations do not concern us in this book). If we may hesitate in such a case as *moyís lodge*, that eventually might be conceived as *somebody's lodge*, or *manistsı*

where such an interpretation would be even more plausible, there is no doubt possible in cases as *manikâpi unmarried young man* : *âḡsanikâpi good unmarried young man*; *maistô crow* : *Mekiâisto Red-crow*; *makûyi wolf* : *ômaḡkokuyi big wolf*; *maksiskum spring (of water)* : *nitoksiskum my spring*, *mamiu fish* : *nitomim my fish*; *matuyis* : *-otuyis grass*; *mistûki mountain* : *spistâk high mountain*; *mistsis tree, stick* : *ômaḡkaiistsis big tree*, *nitsistsim my stick*; *mokô* : *-oko- autumn*; *motô* : *-oto spring*. And in other parts of the grammar: *makap-* : *-okap- bad*; *manik-* : *-anik- of a certain size or age*; *manisk-* : *-anisk- young*; *manist-* : *-anist- according to (by the side of anist-)*; *mât-* : *-ât- again (by the side of -mât- and ât-)*; *matom-* : *-atom- first (by the side of itom- : -otom-)*; *mats-* : *-ats- crazy*; *matsi-* : *-itsi- sweet*; *matsiu-* : *-itsiu- fine, good*; *minok-* : *-inok- happy*; *misk-* : *-isk- instead*; *mist-* : *-ist- away*; *mokam-* : *-okam- straight (by the side of okam-, ikam-)*; *moḡt-* : *-oḡt- from, along, for, with (by the side of ixt-)*; *mot-* : *-ot- all, all over*; *makas-* : *-okas- to pick up*; *maket-* : *-aket- to saddle*; *makix-kiṇi-* : *-akixkini- to comb*; *makit-* : *-akit- to pack*; *makokini-* : *-akokini- to steer*; *mat-* : *-ot- to take*; *matsisi-* : *-itsisi- to suppurate*; *mitsixta-* : *-itsixta- to think*; *mitsixta-* : *-itsixta- to endure*; *mokaki-* : *-okaki- to be wise*, etc. etc. There are, however, some constant initial *m*'s in Blackfoot, even in nouns, e.g. *mâukaiis breast* : *nomâukaiis my breast*; *miâpinânists eye-lashes* : *nimiâpinânists my eye-lashes*; *mânistâmi lodge-pole* : *kimâ-nistâmi (komânistâmi) your lodge-pole*, and from other parts of the grammar we may cite, e.g. *mat not*, *moḡk- ended (by the side of iḡk-, however)*.

### § 5. Stress.

In Blackfoot words, on one syllable, or very often even on two or more syllables, a strong expiratory accent may be observed. I indicate the strongest accent by means of the acutus, whereas I use the gravis to mark the secondary stress or stresses (on the vowel *â*, which always has a primary or secondary stress, it would be cumbersome as well as superfluous to write an acutus or a gravis). But in many cases it is scarcely possible to decide which stress is the stronger, or strongest, one, and then I put the acutus on both, or all, of the stressed syllables. There are even disyllabic words with equal or nearly equal, stress on both syllables, e.g. *nôkôs (nôkôs, nôkôs) my child*; *nôtâs (nôtâs, nôtâs) my beast*; *âpssi (âpssi, âpssi) arrow*. In other disyllabic words with shifting expiratory accent there is only one stressed syllable, the other syllable having no stress at all, as is the case with the demonstrative pronouns *amô* : *âmo*, *omâ* : *ôma* (*omi* : *ômi*), *annô* : *ânno*, *annâ* : *ânna* (*anni* : *ânni*), etc. In such pronouns we never hear two stresses at the same time. The Indians will say either *omâ*, or *ôma*, but never *ômâ* with equal stress on both syllables. As we shall see afterwards, the inanimate forms of such pronouns also serve as local adverbs, and then, as to stress, they are treated in the same way. When they want to emphasize a local indication, either by pronoun or by adverb,

especially when they want to point out to you something very distant, or scarcely visible, they often lengthen the stressed vowel to an extraordinary degree, in which cases I use the sign + behind the vowel. E.g. ó + mim (omi + m) *over there*. As the same demonstrative pronouns and adverbs are used in a temporal sense, the Indians will lengthen the stressed vowel of such words also when pointing to a distant period in the past, e.g. omi + k apatóytsik *then a very long time ago back*. Such prolongations are not strictly confined to local indications, but occasionally will occur in other words, e.g. in interjections, and in collective communications of the chief or leader to the people, as ákopaki + ó + p *we (incl.) shall move*.

In the different chapters of this manual the attentive reader will find abundant material to study the place of the expiratory accent in nominal, verbal, and other forms, so that it seems quite unnecessary to point out to him beforehand all the numerous cases of wavering stress, and of two or more simultaneous stresses in one word, he will meet with on the following pages.

## CHAPTER II.

### Formation of nouns.

#### § 6. General remarks.

There are very numerous monosyllabic, disyllabic, and polysyllabic noun-stems in Blackfoot that cannot be analysed. Such are, e.g.: -nn- *father* (ninna *my father*, únni *his father*); -ksist- *mother* (niksista *my mother*, oksistsi *his mother*); -χko- *son* (noχkóa *my son*, oχkói *his son*); -kos *child* (nókós *my child*, ókós *his child*); -'s- *elder brother* (ni'sa *my elder brother*, ú'si *his elder brother*); -ms- *daughter-in-law* (nimsa *my daughter-in-law*, ómsi *his daughter-in-law*); -s- *son-in-law* (nísa *my son-in-law*, ūsi *his son-in-law*); -sk(an)- *younger brother* (niskána, niskáni *my younger brother*, uskáni *his younger brother*, uskáuai *their younger brother*); -nist- *elder sister* (nínista, ninsta *my elder sister*, únistsi, únstsi *his elder sister*); -sis- (*woman's*) *younger brother or sister* (nisisa *my younger brother or sister*, oxsisi *her younger brother or sister*); ísk (iska) *bucket* (nóχk *my bucket*, óχk *his bucket*); pún *bracelet*; ktsí *sea-shell*; níнау *man*; áké *woman*; kyáio *bear*; stámik *bull*; namó *bee*; sistí *small bird*; piksí (pi'ksi) *big bird*; eińi *buffalo*; maistó *crow*; kakó *dove*; pítau *eagle*; mamíu *fish*; pistó *night-hawk*; mamín *feather*; -ksisi- (-χksisi-) *nose*; ópi *brains*; -kitsi- *finger*; imitá *dog*; ksískstaki *beaver*; natáio *bob-cat*; isksínau *bug*; apí'si *coyote*; siékaii *mink*; aápani *blood*; matsini *tongue*; únnikis *teat*; etc. etc.

The reader will have observed that among the terms of relationship, mentioned above, there are some which more properly might be called "non-syllabic" than "monosyllabic", as they consist only of a consonant or two consonants. It is, however, probable that their volume has been greater in the past, and that they have been reduced to their present state by loss of a vowel.

In some cases we may suppose relationship of a noun with an adjective-stem, as, e.g., maáχsi *his grand-parent*, híš *parent-in-law* (naáχsi, naáχsa *my grand-parent*, híš *parent-in-law*) seems to mean properly "good one", and to belong to áχsi *good*. So pokáu *child* originally may have had the meaning "little one" and be akin to pok- *little*. Another kind of etymology seems possible in the case of maáuysi *mouth* (naáuysi *my mouth*), which eventually might be explained as "eater", cf. auyi- *to eat*. But in a descriptive grammar such conjectures, which may, or may not, hit the mark, are out of place. I shall confine myself to simple facts without looking out for historical perspectives.

Then I have to state that in this language compositional and derivational processes are of equally great importance. In composition the determining

member always precedes the determined word. Compounds are either endocentric or exocentric. Nouns that are very often used as second member of compounds are apt to become suffixes, as e.g. *àké woman* in composition has become the feminine counterpart of the suffix *-koän*, where this, as in most cases of its occurrence, indicates male individuals. The well-known peculiarity of the Algonquian languages, that certain very common words in composition are substituted by virtually equivalent elements occurring only in composition, is found also in Blackfoot. Sometimes these compositional elements are shorter forms of the independent words, but usually they differ entirely from those nouns. So *àḡkê water* is substituted in some compounds by *-kimi*. e.g. *ômaḡksikimi-lakê (big-water)*, *âisuiôpoksikimi tea (leaves-water)*, *âisiksikimi coffee (black-water)*, though *motaiâḡke sea (water-all-over)*, *nâpiâḡke brandy (whites'-water)* are not subject to this tendency. Especially the names of parts of the body in composition are nearly always represented by substitutes, such as *-ski* for *mostoksis face*; *-apini* for *moápsspi eye*, *-ka* for *moḡkâtsis foot*.

A very common type of compounds is "adjective-stem + determined noun", as *âḡsitâpi good person, good people* (*âḡsi good + matâpi person, people*); *omaḡkâitumo big butte, big hill* (*omaḡk- big + nitûmmo butte*); *inaksîpoka little child, baby* (*inak-, inaks- little + pokâu child*). This type will be treated in § 26.

There are a great many derivative nouns in Blackfoot, denominative as well as deverbative. In the first place I have to mention that the pure intransitive verbal stem may be used as *nomen agentis*. In the independent form it will take the suffix *-u (a)*, so that then it is identical in form with the third person singular of the *verbum finitum*, e.g. *apôtaki(ua) workman*; *apôtakiu(a) he works*. When the verb has a durative (iterative) prefix attached to it, this prefix is retained in the *nomen agentis*, as in *âisatsâki(ua) carpenter, belonging to*, or rather identical with, the verb *âisatsâkiu(a)*, in which *ai-* is prefixed to the intransitive stem. In general may be said, that any form of the *verbum finitum*, transitive or intransitive, occasionally may be used and treated as a noun.

## § 7. Composition.

As I have mentioned in the preceding paragraph, there are exocentric as well as endocentric compounds in Blackfoot. Examples of exocentric compounds abound among those whose second member is a compositional substitute, denoting a part of the body (see below).

Determinative compounds of two noun-stems, the determining member preceding the determined one, are very frequent. Here a few examples, chosen at random, will suffice: *ninâke chief-woman* (*ninau chief + âké woman*); *ninaipoka chief's child* (*ninau chief + pokâu child*); *kokûmikêsum moon* (cf. *kokô, kokûyi night* and *kêsum sun, moon*); *kyâiotokis bear-skin* (*kyâio bear + motokis-skin*); *pônokâmitauyis stable* (*ponokâmita horse + moyis lodge*); *okoâisau belly-fat* (*môkoän belly, ôkoän his belly, + isâu*

*fat*); Sekokinisaxtai *Birch creek* (sékokini *birch* + asétaxtai *creek*); Sépistökös *Owl-child* (a man's name) (sépisto *owl* + ókös *his child*); ksiskstakiokuyi *beaver-furred buffalo*-(ksiskstaki *beaver* + okúyi *hair*, mokúyis *fur*); Ninaistàku *Chief-mountain*, ("Mountain-chief", a man's name) (ninau *chief* + mistáki *mountain*); ponokáutokâni *elk-head* (pono-káu *elk* + motokâni *head*), etc. etc.

Most of the compositional substitutes in Blackfoot refer to parts of the body, but there are also others, the most conspicuous among which is -kimi, -komi *water, fluid*. It is found in ómaxsikimi *lake* (*great-water*); áisiksikimi *coffee* (*black-water*); áisuiòpokskimi *tea* (*leaves-water*); stókimiu *is cold* (used of liquids); kó'sa inákskimiu (*here*) *is a small cup for liquids*; ksistokómi *warm water* (only in one of the examples cited above, áisuiòpokskimi, we have a compound of two noun-stems, the first members of the other ones having an adjectival character). Also -sisaxtai, the compositional form of asétaxtau, asétaxtai *creek* may be mentioned here, e.g. Ponokáisisaxtai *Elk river*, Sekokinisaxtai *Birch creek*, Kyáiesisaxtai *Maria's river* (*Bear creek*), Misinskisaxtai *Badger creek*, Kináksisaxtai *Milk river* (*Little creek*), etcet. There are some short forms (substitutes) of animal-names in Blackfoot, but they are chiefly used in verbal hunting expressions (see § 112) (cf., however, -unista *buffalo-calf*, instead of unistáxs, as second member of nominal compounds).

Now I shall give a list of body-part substitutes as second members of nominal compounds with some examples of each of them. The reader will observe that nearly all such compounds are exocentric.

-a p i n i *eyes*, e.g. nánàpinu *has a man's eyes*; Maistápini *Crow-eyes* (a man's name); Otskápinu *Glass-eyes* (a man's name); cf. sikápinu *has black eyes*; ákspapiniu *has sore eyes*; ánaupapiniu *is one-eyed*. The independent word for *eye* is moápsspi.

-a t u y i, -o t u y i *tail*, e.g. imitáutuyi *dog-tail* (an ancient word for *deer*), cf. áuatuyi *wagging-tail* (*deer*); otátuyi *red-fox* (*yellow-tail?*); áisikotuyi *black-tail deer*. The independent word for *tail* is moxsoyis.

-k a *foot, leg*, e.g. Siksika *the Blackfoot tribe*; Méksika *Red-feet* (a man's name). I have not found an example of -ka preceded by a noun-stem as first member of the compound; though I should not be surprised, if such cases did really occur in the language. The independent word for *foot* and *leg* is moxkátsis.

-k a t- *liver* in -opixkat- *brains and liver* (otópixkatsoàuaists *their brains and livers*, cf. áiksistapaupixkatòmiauaists *they had done the oiling of them with the brains and the liver*, itáupixkatsiuaiks *then they oiled them with the brains and the liver*). The independent word for *liver* is kinakin.

-k a t s i *foot*, e.g. méksikatsi *duck* (*pink-colored feet*). I never met with a compound of -katsi with a noun-stem as first member, though such will probably occur. The independent word for *foot, leg* is moxkátsis.

-k i k - (-k e k -) *back*, e.g. siksíkekaii *black-striped-back horse*; aisà-



kuyisikekaii *bay-striped-back horse*. I never found *-kik-* preceded by a true noun-stem. The independent word for *back* is *mokakini*.

*-kixkini*, *-ixkini* (*-kixkin-*, *-ixkin-*) *head, hair, horn*, e.g. *okókixkinixpai* *her bump-head* (endocentric!); *Ninasaukixkini* *Chief-prairie-head* (a man's name) (endocentric?), cf. *ksikixkini* *white-headed eagle*; *apúyixkini* *brown-haired*; *iksikixkini* *grey-haired*; *istsikixkini* *bald-headed*; *A'χtsamoákixkini* *Little-crooked-horn* (a man's name); and also *imaykixkina*, *ómaykixkina* *mountain-sheep* (*big-horns*). The independent word for *head* and *hair* is *motokâni*, the one for *horn* is *otskinau*.

*-kin* *bone*, also *foot, leg*, e.g. *sámikin* *collar-bone*; *mokakékin* *back-bone*; *kikápitsikinànoaists* *your old boiled bones*; cf. *ápstsitsikini* *bare-footed*. The independent words for *bone* and *foot (leg)* are, respectively, *oxkin* and *moxkátsis*.

*-kina ki* *bone*, also *foot, leg, leg-bone*, cf. *ákauksikinakim* *she has already turned into bones*; *nitsínokinaki* *I have long legs*; *sáχksikinakim* *he has short legs*; *nitsipúksaikinàki* *I have bare legs*; *nitsistsékinaki* *I have a hurting leg-bone*. The only compound of *-kina ki* with a noun-stem as first member is *nánaikinakim* *has a man's legs*. Cf. the independent words *oxkin* *bone*, *moxkátsis* *foot (leg)*, *ináni* *leg-bone*.

*-kinistsi*, *-kinists-* *arm, hand*, cf. *nitsinokinists* *I have long arms*; *nitsayksikists* *I have short arms*; *nitsistsekinists* *I have hard-ache*. I suppose, there must be some true nominal compounds of *-kinistsi* with a noun-stem as first member, but I never met with one. The independent words for *arm* and *hand* are, respectively, *moxtsiminan* and *motsis*.

*-ksisi*, *-ksis-* *nose*, cf. *páχpuksksisi* *wood-pecker*; *O'mayksksisi* *Big-nose* (a man's name); *Noχkoχksisake* *Has-nose-woman* (a woman's name).

*-okini*, *-okin-* *breast*, e.g. *Staókini* *Ghost-breast* (a man's name); cf. also *manáukin* *new-breast* (*young wolf*); *kakókin* *has only a breast*. The independent word for *breast* is *mokékin*.

*-ski* *face*, e.g. *koksiki* *antelope* (*corner-face*); *ixpauákskiu* *has a ridge-scar on his face*; cf. also *sináiski* *badger* (*striped-face*); *àpski* *white-faced horse*; *saykski-* *short-faced*, etc. etc. One of the most usual substitutes. The independent word for *face* is *mostoksís*.

*-spini* *cheek*, cf. *isksáykuspiniu* *she had earth on her cheek* (which presupposes a compounded stem *-ksaykuspini-* *earth-cheek*); and also *ápspini* *goose* (*white-cheeks*); *áitsikspiniu* *they then had their faces black on the sides*. The independent word for *cheek* is *motstsipina*.

*-stoki* *ear*, e.g. *kákanotstòki* *owl* (*who has large holes in his ears*); cf. also *ómaykstòki* *mule* (*big-ears*); *Káistoki* *Crop-ear* (a man's name). The independent word for *ear* is *moxtókis*.

As I have said already in the preceding paragraph, there are in Black-foot a great many compounds of a prefixed adjective-stem and a noun, as, to give some more examples: *áχsanikapi* *good unmarried young man*; *makápake* *bad woman*; *makápoχsokò* *bad road*; *mekotsipís* *red willow*;

sikâipitsi *black blanket*; ómayksistòän *big knife*; ómayksinau *great chief*; inâkokitsis *little finger*, etc. etc. They will be treated systematically in § 26.

### § 8. Deverbative nouns.

Before passing on to the suffixes which serve to derive nouns from verb-stems, it may be useful to give some examples of intransitive verb-stems, functioning at the same time as nomina agentis. Such are, e.g. áskstakì *sucker (blood-sucker)*; áisàmi *hunter*; áisotsikàu *slider*; áiaksa-kiàki *blacksmith*; áuakàsi *trotter (antelope)*; áuatùyi *tail-wagger* | *wagging-tail (deer)*; ápotaki *worker (workman)*. Most of them, though by no means all of them, contain the iterative prefix ai- or au-.

As there are frequentative verbs characterized by the suffix -(e)pitsi, used in an unfavourable sense, we find also a corresponding noun-group with the same suffix, e.g. kamósiepitsi *habitual thief* : kamósiepitsiu *steals always* : áikamòsiu *steals*; kámaniepitsi *beggar* : kámaniepitsiu *is always begging* : áukamaniu *begs*; epúyepitsi *one who is always talking* : epúyepitsiu *talks always* : áipuyiu *talks*; asáiniepitsi *child that always cries* : asáiniepitsiu *cries always* : áuasainfu *cries (weeps)*; áitskàpitsi *habitual fighter* : áitskàpitsiu *is always fighting* : áitskau  *fights*; etc.

The great majority of verbs have nomina abstracta formed by means of the suffix -sini, but the verbal stems in -a make use of the suffix -ni. E.g. simsini (símisini) from áisimiu *drinks*; okáni from ájokau *sleeps*. These nouns properly denote the action or the condition expressed by the verbal stem, though many of them are used as well with a concrete meaning. So simsini is not only *the action of drinking*, but also *the liquid that is drunk*. Examples may be found on nearly every page of the texts. Therefore I shall cite only a few: pisátàpsini (pisátapisini) *wonderful experience* : pisátàpiu *it is wonderful*; áukskàssini *run* : áukskàsiu *runs*; oxtožkóžssini *illness* : áiožtožkožsiu *is-ill*; sikókuyixkinsini (sikókuyixkinisini) *having black hair, black hair* : sikókuyixkiniu *has black hair*; ápopsini (ápopisini) *having white hair* : ápopiu *is white-headed, has white hair*; ápotaksini (ápotakisini) *work* : ápotakiu *works*; ímsini (imisini) *laughter* : áiimiu *laughs*. And in -ani : áuakimàni *chase* : áuàkimau *chases*; ákometsimàni *liking, pleasure* : ákometsima- *to like, to take pleasure*; piskàni *saving the blood (of the killed animal)* : piskáu *saves the blood*; apisàni *boiling the meat, pot of meat* : áupisau *boils meat*; ixtsiskàni *sweat-lodge* : ixtsiskáu *makes a sweat-lodge*; kamotàni *protection of life, safety* : áikamotau *is saved*.

An interesting group of nouns are the nomina loci characterized at the same time by the localizing prefix it- and the relative inclusive verbal ending -opi, such as itàuyopi *eating-place (where-we-eat)* : áuyiu *eats*; itàxpumaupi *buying-place, store (where-we-buy)* : íxpúm mau *buys*; itàuyosopi *cooking-place, stove (where-we-cook)* : áuyosiu *cooks*; itàumatòsimau *incense-burning-place (where-we-burn incense)* : áuamatòsimau *burns incense*. A similar formation, but with the passive ending -otspi

is itásksinimatsôtspi *school (where-we-are-taught)* : úsksinimatsau *he is taught*, nitásksinimatsau *I teach him*.

There are also local nouns formed by means of the relative suffix -pi (-xpi, -xpi), in combination with the compounded prefix ots-it-. Their verbal character is quite manifest. E.g. otsitakaièpi *einuia where there are many buffalo (otsitakaièpi where-there-are-many)* : akaiimi (an.), akauó (in.) *many*; otsitsimixpi *where-it-is-deep* : immiu *it is deep*; otsitomaixpi *where-it-is-very-high* : omaixpiu *it is very high*; otsitopixpi *where-he-is-sitting* : ápiu *sits*; otsitauatsimoixkaxpi *altar (where-he-prays)* : auátsimoixkau *prays*; Mátokéks-ománistàmoai-otsitskitaxpiu *Where-the-lodge-pole-of-the-Women's-society-was-left* (a local name) : skitau *he is left*, nitskitau *I leave him*. Such forms may also be used in a temporal sense, e.g. saiaíks otsitautoxpi *March (when-the-geese-come)* : áutò *comes*; ótsitaipistsiixp(i) pitséksinaíks *August (when-the-snakes-go-blind)* : nápistsiu (ápistsiu) *he is blind*.

Verbal forms used as nouns are also the nomina instrumenti characterized at the same time by the instrumental prefix ixt- and the relative inclusive ending -opi, e.g. ixtáuyopi *fork (where-we-eat-with)* : áuyiu *eats*; ixtáxpumaupi *money (where-we-buy-with)* : ixpúmmau *buys*; ixtáisimiopi *drinking-cup (where-we-drink-with)* : áisimiu *drinks*; ixtáipiksopi *hammer (where-we-hammer-with)* : áipiksiu *hammers*; ixtáipuyòpi *telephone (where-we-talk-with)* : áipuyiu *talks*. Such words abound among the new-coined names of acquisitions due to European-American civilization.

Another way of forming nomina instrumenti is by adding the suffix -atsis to the verbal stem, e.g. áxkióxsátsis *canoe, boat* : áxkióxsiu *paddles*; ípsátsis *belt* : ípsi- *to wear a belt, to wear something round the waist*; amíxkátsis *fish-line, fish-hook* : áumíxkau *fishes*; istókímátsis *drum* : áístókimau *drums*; ótoátsis *walking-stick, cane* : áutò *comes*; pokáíimátsis *fan* : áipókaiimau *fans*; iníxkiátsis *musical instrument* : áiníxkiu *sings*; namáxkímátsis *broom* : namáxkima- *to sweep*; etc. etc.

### § 9. Denominative nouns.

An important denominative suffix is -kōān, by means of which from names of tribes, bands, etc. the words denoting male individuals belonging to such are derived, whereas for the female individuals compounds with -àke (àké *woman*) are used. Examples: Káinaikoān *Blood Indian* : Káináke *Blood Indian woman* : Káina *the Blood tribe*; Pekánikoān *Peigan* : Pekánáke *Peigan woman* : Pekáni *the Peigan tribe*; Siksikáikoān *Blackfoot Indian* : Siksikáke *Blackfoot woman* : Siksika *the Blackfoot tribe*; Pinápisinākoān *Sioux Indian* : Pinápisināke *Sioux woman* : Pinápisina *the Sioux tribe*; Ináksikoān *Small-robe man* : Ináksáke *Small-robe-woman* : Ináksiks *Small-robcs*; Isksínaitapikoān *Bug-man* : Isksínaitapiáke *Bug-woman* : Isksínaitapiks *Bug-people*. To this group belongs also Nápiikoān *white man* : Nápiáke *white woman*, and the same suffix is found in Nápiikoān *Old Man (= the Sun)* : nápi *old man*. The suffix -koān is sometimes used

to denote young animals, e.g. *sikimikoān black colt* : *sikimi black horse*; *apikoān white colt* : *āpi white horse*; *imitāikoān puppy* : *imitā dog*; though most names of young animals are compounds with *pokāu child*, or with prefixed adjective-stems for "young" (*a s -*, *ma n i s k -*). As the suffix *-koān* in itself has nothing to do with sex, there is nothing strange in *akēkoān girl*, properly "a female individual", "a young woman", derived from *akē woman*.

A great number of collective nouns are formed by means of the denominative suffix *-sko*, *-skuyi*, *-skui*, e.g. *akāitapisko many people together (town)* : *akāitapi many people*; *ksisisko thorn-bush* : *ksisiis thorn*; *paḡtōksko group of pine-trees* : *paḡtōki pine-tree*; *asētsiksko group of cottonwood-trees* : *asētsiksim cottonwood-tree*; *otsipisko group of willows* : *otsipis willow*; *mistsisko timber* : *mistsis log*; *ōḡkotōksko stony place* : *ōḡkotōki stone*.

Another group of collective nouns is characterized by the suffix *-sina* (*-sini*, *-sin*) in combination with the pronominal prefix of the third person (*o-*, *ot-*, *ots-*, *otsi-*). All of them are derived from animate words, especially from names of persons and animals. They are used to designate large groups of individuals of the same kind all together in one place. Examples: *ōtapisina all the people* : *matāpi person*; *ūnḡāsina all the men* : *nīnau man*; *ōtaksēsina all the women* : *akē woman*; *opokāsina all the children* : *pokāu child*; *otsistāuosina all the ghosts (in the land of the dead)* : *stāau ghost*; *ōnokāsina all the elks* : *ponokāu elk*; *otōmitasina all the dogs* : *imitā dog*; *ōnokāmitāsina all the horses* : *ponokāmīta horse*.

### CHAPTER III.

#### Flexion of nouns.

##### § 10. Gender.

The distinction of two genders, animate and inanimate, so often met with in aboriginal American languages, is as important in Blackfoot as it is in other dialects of the Algonquian stock. Properly this distinction belongs to the noun and its substitute, the (non-personal and non-possessive) pronoun, but as gender requires congruence in Algonquian, nearly all parts of the Blackfoot grammar are affected by it. So the Indians will say, e.g.: omá ninau ikokápsiu *that man is very bad*, but: omí nitóyis ikokápiu *that lodge is very bad*. In an ancient wolverine-story we hear of minoxko(χ)tsiks okitsiks *her fingers' ends* (literally: *her extreme fingers*), because mokitsis *finger* is animate, but as attribute of an inanimate plural, minoxko(χ)tsiks would be required. Nátokamiau means *they are two animate beings or things*; nátokaiiau, on the contrary, *they are two inanimate things*. Anátsinam *he looks pretty* is used, e.g., of a beautiful bird or any other animate being or thing, whereas anátsinatsiu *it looks pretty* always refers to something inanimate. If you want to say *he eats a rabbit*, you will have to use the animate form áuatsiu *he eats him* (áuatsiu áatsistai), but are you speaking, e.g., of a cow eating grass, you will choose the inanimate form áuatom, and the sentence will run: áuatom matuyis *he eats grass*. As the animate nouns are not subdivided according to sex, and as the personal pronoun does not distinguish between *he* (*him*) and *she* (*her*), I shall in the translation of verbal and other forms make use of the English pronoun *he* (*him, his*) without any special reference to the male sex, though in the quotations from the texts I do not avoid the use of *she* (*her, hers*), whenever I think it necessary for the right understanding of the sentence.

Animate are the names of persons, supernatural beings, animals, and a great many other words denoting things which in our way of thinking would be regarded as lifeless. Even the adequacy of the terms "animate" and "inanimate" to design the two noun-classes of Algonquian languages is more or less doubtful, since we do not know exactly the native sub-conscious (or perhaps, in some cases, even conscient?) concepts lying behind this so-called "primitive" (animistic-dynamistic) classification. But, with regard to the general use of these terms in scientific philological works, and also considering how difficult, nay, impossible, it would be to replace them by other, new-coined, terms satisfying the ethnologist in every respect, I preferred to retain them.

As we might expect for mythological reasons, the names of the earth, the sun, the moon, the stars are animate: *ksáxkúm earth*; *natósi (nató'si) sun, moon*; *késúm sun, moon*; *kokúmikésúm moon*; *kakatósi (kakató'si) star*; *Ipisóaxs Morning-star*; *Paɣtsópisóaxs False Morning-star*; *Myoxpo-kóiks Pleiades*; *Ixkitsíkamiks Dipper (Great Bear constellation)*.

We should expect all the names of trees to be animate, but in fact some of them are inanimate, e.g. *sékokini birch*, *otsipis willow*. Examples of animate tree-names are *paɣtókí pine-tree*, *asétsiksim cottonwood-tree*. All the compounds with *-ksim* are animate, even such as *ómayksiksim big log*. In general the words belonging to the vegetable kingdom are inanimate, e.g. *matuyis grass*, *katséksi root (of a tree)*, *okiu stem*, *suiópok leaf*, *apistsiskitsiu flower*, *mini (mí'ni) berry*, *otsistsini strawberry*, *ókonòki saɣvis-berry*, *pákkixp cherry*, *oksínisimān goose-berry*, *ápostaminātsi apple*, *áutoksinātsi bean*, etc. Animate exceptions to this rule are, e.g.: *mási turnip*, *otóksksiis bark*, *ksisiis thorn*, *kiní roseberry*, *kapséks hard-seed-berries*, *miksínitsimi bullberry*, *ápiníkimi whiteberry*.

With a few exceptions the names of the parts of the human body as well as those of the body of animals (which are, in most cases, the same) are inanimate, e.g. *moɣtsiminān arm*, *moksísi arm-pit*, *mokakini back*, *mokakékin backbone*, *moɣksisis nose, beak*, *místóān beard*, *mókoān belly*, *oɣkin bone*, *ópi brains*, *máukaiis breast*, *mokékin breast*, *motstsipina cheek*, *moɣtókis ear*, *moɣkinistsis elbow*, *ópstókists' entrails*, *piksiskānists entrails*, *mostoksís face*, *okúyi single hair*, *feather*, *moɣkátsis foot, leg*, *monísi forehead*, *motokāni hair of the head*, *head*, *motsis hand*, *múskitsipaxpi heart*, *motoɣtúni heel*, *moɣkinisāikina hip*, *moɣpskinau jaw*, *ótòki kidney*, *ināni leg-bone*, *motónisi lip*, *kinakin liver*, *oɣpini lung*, *maáuysi mouth*, *mótoyiis navel*, *moɣkokini neck*, *mópèkinanists nostrils*, *ópānni (his) penis*, *pekis rib*, *motsistsini roof of the mouth*, *motsikis shoulder*, *asipis sinew, muscle*, *mótokep skull*, *moɣsoyiis tail*, *soātsis tail-feather*, *únnikis teat*, *matsini tongue*, *moɣpèkini tooth*, *motoksinān upper leg*, *opistānāni (her) vulva*, and others. Also *aāpani blood* belongs to the inanimate class. Animate are, however, *moápsspi eye*, *mokítsis finger*, *auótanòkítsis finger-nail*, *ápotstsināu biceps*, *motoksís knee*, *moɣkinān calf of the leg*, *mátsiu vein*, *moɣsistsini hoof*, *otskinau horn*, *māmin feather, wing*, and probably a few more. It is remarkable enough, that *máksini carcass* is animate, while *mostúmi body* belongs to the inanimate gender. About the interesting case of *motokís skin, hide* see below.

Inanimate are geographical terms as *mistáki mountain*, *nitúmмо butte, hill*, *ómayksíkimi lake*, *niétāɣtai river*, *asétāɣtau creek*, etc. To the same class belong *áɣké water* and other names of liquids. As we might have expected, also the nomina loci of verbal origin (see § 8) are, all of them, inanimate, e.g. *itáuypoi eating-place*, *itāɣpumaupi store*, *itáksinimatsòtspi school*, *otsitauatsimoixkaxpi altar*, etc.

The nomina instrumenti in *-ātsis* are partly animate, partly inanimate. Some examples of animates are *iskuyipistātsis bridle*, *sapíkinamātsis button*,

potátsis *stove*, saisétuiátsis *stove-pipe*, sapikitsoʒsátsis *finger-ring*, amix-kátsis *fish-hook*, auakápiksátsis *spur*, páksátsis *stone-hammer*, sapápistátsis *spear*. Inanimate are e.g. ipsátsis *belt*, áʒkioʒsátsis *boat*, anákimátsis *lamp*, káʒtsátsis *play-card*, mákixkinioʒsátsis *comb*, istókímátsis *drum*, pokáimátsis *fan*, ókímátsis *lock*, isápiátsis *looking-glass*, istimmátsis *match*, kiskátsis *pillow*, ótoátsis *walking-stick*, istipísimátsis *whip*, kinstátsis *harness*, sapikakiátsis *stirrup*, asótskimátsis *halter*, namáʒkimátsis *broom*.

The same may be said of the nomina instrumenti beginning with *i x t* - and ending in *-o pi*: part of them are animate, and part of them are inanimate. Examples of animates are *ixtauáʒkaniksakiöpi bore*, *ixtáisapsis-kioʒsöpi washing-basin*, *ixtáisiikiakiöpi cover*, *ixtáuypi fork*, *ixtáipiksöpi hammer*, *ixtáʒpumáupi money*, *ixtáisatsakiöpi plane*, *ixtáikayksiststakiöpi saw*, *ixtáiksistsikümiöpi clock*, *watch*, *ixtáikauaipiksikstakiöpi key*. To the inanimate gender belong e.g. *ixtáisimiöpi drinking-cup*, *ixtáisaitamiöpi lung*, *ixtáiaʒkioʒsöpi paddle*.

Some other names of lifeless things and substances belonging to the animate class are: *ösáki back-fat*, *maiái robe*, *imoiáni robe*, *matsiks leggings*, *átsètsi glove*, *auástám flag*, *auaná rattle*, *áʒkéminàniks beaver-bundle*, *amopistàniks beaver-bundle (beaver-rolls)*, *mánistàmi lodge-pole*, *áinakási wheel*, *waggon*, *isk bucket*, *moksis awl*, *káksákin axe*, *istoán knife*, *auáksopan bullet*, *pokún ball (to play with)*, *pún bracelet*, *apíʒ rope*, *misksim metal*, *mátaykimist black alcali*.

Some words may be animate or inanimate, according to their meaning. E.g. *kós (kó's)* is animate, when used for a *wooden cup*, or a *tin plate*, but inanimate, when an *earthen dish* is meant. *Náipistsi blanket* is animate, *náipistsi wool* inanimate. *Mistsis free, log* belongs to the animate class, but *mistsis stick* is inanimate, and the inanimate plural *mistsists* is also used for *fire-wood*. *Oʒkotóki stone* is treated as an animate, when one is speaking about a *large stone* or a *rock*, but *small stones* are called *óʒkotókists*, which is an inanimate plural-form. Interesting is the difference between *námau gun* animate, and *námaí bow* inanimate. Still more remarkable is the double gender of *motokis skin, hide*, which in general may be called an animate, but when used of *buffalo-hides* (and, probably, of any other kind of hides) after a certain stage of preparation is treated as an inanimate.

Though the collective nouns characterized by *-sina* in combination with the pronominal prefix of the third person, and derived from animate words (especially from names of persons and animals), belong to the animate gender (e.g. *ótapisina all the people*, *únnašina all the men*, *ónokàsina all the elks*), the collectives in *-sko* (*-skuyi*, *-skui*) are always inanimate, even when they denote groups of animate beings or animate things (so *akáitapisko many people together*, *ksisisko thorn-bush*, *paytókisko group of pine-trees*, though derived from words belonging to the animate class, are treated in the same way as *asètsiskisko group of*



cottonwood-trees, *otsipisko group of willows*, which are based on words of the inanimate gender).

The animate nouns are not subdivided into masculines and feminines. In some cases the distinction of sex is expressed by radically different words, e.g. *ninau man* : *àkè woman*, *saḡkúmapi boy* : *akékoān girl*, *stámik bull* : *skéini cow*, *áiomòkau stallion* : *ski'm mare*. The word *ski'm* is also used for *female animal* in general, while *nápim* designates the *male animal*. *Nápim* and *ski'm* are put before or behind the names of animals, but only when it is absolutely necessary to mention the sex. E.g. *napim imitá male dog* : *ski'm imita (ski'miomita) bitch*, *áiksini napim boar* : *áiksini ski'm sow*. Cf. also *nitápimiotasinàniks our (excl.) male horses*, *otápimiòtàsiks his male horses*. When it is evident which kind of animal is meant, *nápim* and *ski'm* are used without any specification. So one can say, in such a case, *nitápim my male beast*, *otápim(i) his male beast*.

Still the names of bands, tribes, and nations have distinct masculine and feminine derivatives to designate persons belonging to them. The male individual is characterized by the suffix *-koān*, which in itself has nothing to do with sex, as appears from *akékoān girl*. The corresponding feminine derivatives, or rather compounds, are formed with *-àkè*, the compositional form of *aké woman*. So from *Káina the Blood Indian tribe* are derived *Káinaikoān* and *Káinaàkè*, which signify respectively a *male* and a *female individual of that tribe*. Feminines in *-àkè* are also formed from many other words, e.g. *ninaàkè chief-woman* from *ninau chief*, and most of the proper names of women belong to this type:

#### § 11. Number.

The plural of animate nouns is derived from the singular by adding the suffix *-iks(i)*, whereas the plural of the inanimates is formed by means of the suffix *-ists(i)*. Also in other parts of the grammar we shall meet with *-ksi* and *-ks* as plural-signs of the animate, and with *-stsi* and *-sts* of the inanimate, but here we are only concerned with the pluralization of nouns. Some examples of our general rules are, for the animate class, *imitá dog*, pl. *imitáiks*; *maistó crow*, pl. *maistoiks*; *pún bracelet*, pl. *púniks*; and for the inanimate gender *nitúmмо butte, hill*, pl. *nitúmмоists*; *àḡké water*, pl. *àḡkéists*.

There are, however, certain special rules to be observed concerning the way of attaching the plural-suffixes to the singular, viz.:

10. In the plural of words, the ending-vowel of which is *i*, there is often a contraction of this *i* with the initial *i* of the suffix. So then we find *-iks* and *-ists* instead or by the side of *-iiks* and *-iists*. Examples: *saḡkúmapi boy*, pl. *saḡkúmapiks*; *áuatuyi deer*, pl. *áuatuyiks*; *apánni butterfly*, pl. *apánniks*; *moápsspi eye*, pl. *moápsspiks*; *áinakàsi wheel, waggon*, pl. *áinakàsiks*; *mí'ni berry*, pl. *mí'nists*; *mistáki mountain*, pl. *mistákists*; *katsétsi root (of a tree)*, pl. *katséksists*.

20. Some animate words in *-e* have their plural in *-eks*, e.g. *aké*



woman, pl. àkèks. The inanimates in -e have their plural in -eists, as àžké water, pl. àžkéists.

30. Most words in -o, -u(y)i, -ui have their plural in -u(y)iks, -u(y)ists, e.g. kakó dove, pl. kakúyiks, kakuiks; ksistsikó, ksistsikúyi, ksistsikúi day, pl. ksistsikuists; kokó, kokúyi, kokúi night, pl. kokuists; atsóàsko, atsóàskuyi, atsóàskui forest, pl. atsóàskuists; moxsokó, moxsokúyi, moxsokúi trail, pl. moxsokuists; iksisako, iksisakuyi, iksisakui meat, pl. iksisakuists.

40. The words in -a u have their plural in -ai(i)ks, -ai(i)sts, e.g. ninau man, pl. ninaiks; pokáu child, pl. pokáiks; námau gun, pl. námaiks (cf. námaii bow, pl. námaists); oáu egg, pl. oáists. The plural of inanimates ending, adlibitum, either in -a u or in -ai has the ending -aists, e.g. niétaxtau, niétaxtai river, pl. niétaxtaists; asétaxtau, asétaxtai creek, pl. asétaxtaists.

50. Many words in -n(i) lose the *n* in the plural. Some instances of the animate gender are niskáni my younger brother, pl. niskáiks; istoān knife, pl. istbáiks; pokún ball, pl. pokúyiks. All the words in -koān have the plural in -aiks, e.g. akékoān girl, pl. akékoais; Nápikoān white man, pl. Nápikoaiks; Pitséksinaitapikoān Snake Indian, pl. Pitséksinaitapikoaiks. Another large group to be mentioned here are the inanimate nouns in -in(i), which have in most cases the plural in -iists or -ists, e.g. ožkin bone, pl. ožkiists; matsikin moccasin, pl. matsikists; áuayšini country, pl. áuayšists; auáuayšin food, pl. auáuayšists; písátàpsini wonderful experience, pl. písátàpsists; sinàksin writing, pl. sinàksists. Still there are exceptions as mi'ni berry, pl. mi'nists; sékokini birch, pl. sékokinists, etc. It is to be noticed, that among the animate and inanimate nouns in -ān(i) or -āni, with an (accentuated!) long vowel before the *n*, there seem to be only very few that lose the *n* in the plural. So imoiāni robe, pl. imoiāniks; ixtsiskāni (tsiskāni) sweat-lodge, pl. ixtsiskānists (tsiskānists); òkāni sleep, pl. òkānists; skinétsimāni bag, pl. skinétsimānists, etc. But inān(i) leg-bone, marrow has the plural-form ináists (cf. moxkinān calf of the leg, which is animate, with the plural-form moxkináiks). The animate word mamín feather, wing has the plural mamíniks.

60. Most words in -s(i) lose their *s* in the plural, e.g. moksís awl, pl. moksiks; motoksis knee, pl. motoksiks; motsís hand, pl. motsists; moyís lodge, pl. moyists. There are, however, cases, where the *s* is retained, e.g. oxsís her younger brother (or sistér), pl. oxsísiks.

Under circumstances which I hesitate to define, the plural-suffixes -iks and -ists may be substituted by -i(i), before which, however, words in -n(i) do not lose their *n*. It would seem, that these forms in -i(i) are properly to be considered as predicative obviatives of the plural, for most times, when they occur, a third person precedes (cf. § 19). Examples of such forms are: omíksi mátakei itsinóyiau omik einíinai there were some other women, they saw the buffalo coming that way; omíksim kipitákei itsipim-he went in to those old women there; omíksim ksiskstakii there were

*some beavers; áisamo omí otákài itanistsinai omiksi mamiátsikimii after a long while his partner said to those magpies there; ki omiksimá akékoānii and there were some girls; amóksi nápikoāni áutōiau omim nitsitunixpinan these whites came over into our agency; omiksimá saḡkúmapii there were some boys; itsitótō omiksimá nēpumakii then he came to some spring-birds; itsinōyiu omiksimá ómaḡkokatāii he then saw, there were gophers; omiksimá makúyii some wolves there; stamápsāpiua moyii he then looked about for the lodges; omistsimaie ápssii there are some arrows, etc. As we shall see afterwards (§ 104), the plural ending - i i is also met with in the conjugation (by the side of - i a u).*

Sometimes a noun will be put in the singular, where a plural is understood, especially when the plural meaning is sufficiently indicated by an accompanying pluralized pronoun or a numeral, e.g. omiksik kanáunistaḡs *all the calves there*; omiksi aké otānik *he was told by those women*; ámoistsi pitauanōki *these eagle-arrows*; ámoistsim ninauyisi makóḡkitsipis *he ought to go into the man's-lodges here*; niuókskami matāpi *three persons*; nitáuto nitoḡkémaiks nátsitapi *I came to my wives (pluralized), two persons (not pluralized), i.e. I came to my two wives*; omiksi nátsitapi ákeks *there were two persons, women (of the two nouns only the latter is pluralized)*; omiksi saḡkúmapi nátsitapiaua *there were boys (the noun is not pluralized), there were two of them, etc.* In some of such cases, however, the non-pluralization of the noun might be due only to the loss of the predicative pluralizer mentioned above. So aké, pitauanōki, matāpi, nátsitapi, saḡkúmapi in our examples may stand, respectively, for akéi, pitauanōkii, matāpii, nátsitapii, saḡkúmapii. Not liable to such an explanation is ninauyisi (in ámoistsim ninauyisi makóḡkitsipis), cf. moyii without *s* in stamápsāpiua moyii (see above).

Very often nouns are put in the singular with a collective meaning, e.g. ákstamatoḡto akékoān saḡkúmapi, akáitapiau *then again the girls (and) boys would go along, there were many of them.* The verb ákstamatoḡto is also in the singular, but akáitapiau is a plural-form.

There are many singularia tantum in the language, all of them collectives. Such are the names of tribes, as Siksika *the Blackfoot tribe*, Káina *the Blood Indian tribe*, Pekáni *the Peigan tribe*, Isapó *the Crow Indian tribe*, Pinápisina *the Sioux tribe*, etc. Such collectives are also the numerous nouns formed by means of the prefix o - (o t -) and the suffix - sin a (- sin i, - sin), as ótapisina *all the people*, únnašina *all the men*, ótakēsina *all the women*, opokásina *all the children*, otsistáuosina *all the ghosts*, ónokāsina *all the elks*, otómitasina *all the dogs*, etc. Instead of these collective nouns in - sin (a) in many cases the simple noun is used, especially where the noun denotes an animal hunted for food. E.g. ponoká(ua) *elk* may be used as well for *the elks in general* as for *an individual elk*. The plural ponokáiiks has not the same value as ónokāsina, but is only used, when one is talking about *some individual elks*, not about a troupe of elks or the species in general. Very seldom occurs the plural of eini(ua) *buffalo* (only

in clearly individualizing cases as: annózk amóksim einíks ómoχtoχkòtokaspi *why now these buffaloes turned into rocks*), and it has no collective in -sina. One would say, for instance, mátaskaksapíksisàua einíua *the buffalo-herd would not run in*, or mátsisamòà itāχpauaniu einíua *after a short while the buffalo-herd jumped (over the bank)*.

Names of substances, as āχké *water*, pomis fat, iksísako' *meat*, etc., which we might expect to be singularia tantum, may, however, be used in the plural.

I do not think, that there are many pluralia tantum in Blackfoot, though there are, of course, words that ordinarily occur in the plural. Anyway, the names of the *beaver-bundle* (*beaver-rolls*), amopistāniks and āχkémināniks, may be mentioned here. Other pluralia tantum are Ixkitsíkamiks *Dipper* (*the Seven*) and Myoχpokóiiiks *Pleiades*.

## § 12. Case-relations.

Case-relations are not expressed by special forms, but only in a syntactical way.

Though there is nothing like the contrast of nominative and accusative in this language, nor the formal distinction of a transitive and an intransitive case, there can be scarcely any doubt, which of two animate nouns denotes the agents, and which the patients, since the mutual relation of the two will appear clearly enough from the congruence of the accompanying verb with the independent and subordinate forms of the noun, or, this criterion lacking, from the context in general. As we shall see in § 15, the chief third person in a sentence is, at least in the singular of most animate nouns, formally distinguished from another third person, subordinate to it in the speaker's mind, the so-called fourth person. Now the verb has special forms for the third and the fourth person, so that the congruence in person between the verb and one of the two nouns will show, which of them is meant for the agents. Let us take, for instance, ānistsiu omā ninau otoχkéman *that man said to his wife*, where the verb ānistsiu and the definite noun omā ninau both are put in the third person (omā = *that 3 p.*). If we meant to say *his wife said to that man*, or, which is practically the same, *that man was told by his wife*, we should put the verb in the fourth person, so that it would be congruent with otoχkéman, and the phrase would run: otānik omā ninau otoχkéman. In cases where the singular noun in itself is not characterized as a third or a fourth person, it is still to be seen by means of a defining pronoun, for which person it stands. In the plural a non-predicative noun is to be recognized as a fourth person only, if it is preceded by the possessive prefix of the third person, and only in that case there may be congruence in person between the agents and the verb, for otherwise the non-predicative pluralized nouns have no external sign, which might show, whether they stand for the third or the fourth person. Then only the context can show, which of the two nouns is to be considered as the logical subject of the pluralized verb. *Those boys told their fathers*

is in Blackfoot: omiksi saykúmapiks ánistšiau únnoauaiks. If we wanted to express, that the fathers were talking to the boys, then we should substitute the third person ánistšiau by the fourth otánikoaiau, which would agree with únnoauaiks *their fathers*, whereas ánistšiau is congruent with saykúmapiks. But in sentences like omiksi saykúmapiks ánistšiau omiksi akékoais, or omiksi saykúmapiks otánikoaiau omiksi akékoais, there may eventually be some doubt, which of the two nouns agrees in person with the verb, though ordinarily the first sentence will mean *those boys said to those girls*, and the other one *those boys were told by those girls* (= *those girls said to those boys*). Still, as there is no unvariable word-order in the language, under circumstances the context might show, that in the first sentence omiksi saykúmapiks is to be considered as an emphasized patiens, or in the second sentence as an emphasized agens. Practically we are never in doubt, whether the one animate noun or the other stands for the logical subject. The less reason for doubt we have, when one of the nouns is animate, and the other one inanimate.

As there is no dative in Blackfoot, so the distinction of the third and the more distant persons, and where this criterion fails, the context alone must help us to find out, how to understand the mutual relation of the nouns accompanying a verb. There is much to be said on the Blackfoot way of turning the sentences, which in German, for instance, would require a dative-construction, and therefore I reserve the discussion of it to a separate paragraph (§ 13). Here a few examples may suffice: nitoxkotau ni'sa omi ponokámitaii *I gave my elder brother that horse*; omá nináua soátsists itoxkótsiua omi noxkétšitapikoän *that man then gave the tail-feathers to that person of another tribe*; kótsis omá akékoän únni omisaii *give that girl her father's wood*.

When two nouns stand in a possessive relation to each other, the one that indicates the possessor nearly always precedes, and to the other one, which stands for the person or thing possessed, the possessive prefix of the third person is attached. Examples: omá einiua otskinaii *that buffalo's horn* (literally: *that buffalo his horn*); ninna otánni *my father's daughter* (literally: *my father his daughter*); amó saykúmapiuá otàs *this boy's horse* (literally: *this boy his horse*); Ninoxkyàioa okóai *Bear-chief's house or lodge* (literally: *Bear-chief his house or lodge*). Sometimes, however, the noun that indicates the person or thing possessed, precedes, e.g.: stámitapóiau omim otsinaii amó matápi *then they went to the chief of this people*; nitákitanistaiin únni nitánna *I shall tell the (literally: her) father of my daughter*. Nevertheless, in combinations as auástám ámonisi *otter-flag*, maiái einiu *his buffalo-robe*, otoänni apáuiki *his flint-knife*, the second members ámonisi *otter*, einiu *buffalo*, apáuiki *flint* are not to be considered as postponed possessives, but as specifying appositions, and their literal translations are *a flag, an otter; his robe, a buffalo; his knife, a flint*. As to auástám ámonisi, mind the absence of any possessive prefix.

Instead of using local and instrumental case-suffixes or postpositions, the

language incorporates local and instrumental prefixes into the verb, and leaves the depending nouns unchanged, a true Algonquian construction, by the side of which, however, some dialects of this stock (Ojibway, for instance) possess also a local case. As the local and instrumental prefixes will be treated and amply illustrated in § 115, I may confine myself here to only a few examples of their use: *spiksinàksin itoxkitaixtsiu itáisoyopi* *the book is lying on the table*; *ksistakápiksistsis pokúni niétaxtai* *throw the ball over the river*; *notoän itsipstaiixtsiu moyis* *my knife is lying inside the lodge*; *nitozxpókauauayxkàmau nitákàu* *I walk with my partner*; *ixtóto akápioyis* *he came from town*; *ixtáuuiu ināxsoyi* *he eats with a spoon*; *kimoxtaikàkiàki kàksàkin* *you are chopping with an axe*. Blackfoot uses, however, also some independent adverbs as prepositions (cf. § 121), e.g. *áskxsaitsitaipuyiu pixkoxtsim nápioyis* *he is always standing alone in front of the house*.

### § 13. The absence of the dative-concept.

Though a transitive and an intransitive case are not distinguished formally in the Blackfoot noun, still it appears from the conjugational system that this grammatical distinction is present in the subconsciousness of the speakers. In fact, the logical object, i.e. the patiens, of the transitive verb is parallel to the logical, and grammatical, subject of the intransitive verb, and both may be designated as *casus inertiae*, whereas the logical subject, i.e. the agens, of the transitive verb is a kind of instrumental case, in my terminology a *casus energeticus* (for the passive character of the transitive verb cf. § 71). This must be realized, before we can understand the way how our sentences containing an indirect object are turned in Blackfoot. In this language, as in all the languages of the Algonquian stock, what, e.g. in German, would be considered as indirect object, is treated in the same way as the direct logical object of ordinary transitive phrases. In other words, where Latin or German would use a dative, Blackfoot uses the *casus inertiae*. What in Latin or German is an indirect complement of the verb, be it either an ordinary adverbial dative, or even a *dativus commodi* (cf. § 76), is the grammatical subject of the corresponding Blackfoot sentences. That this is so, and not otherwise, does, truly, not appear from the noun itself, but only from the conjugational endings of the verb. For practical reasons I shall render the really passive transitive constructions cited below by active constructions, only where it is not too awkward in English to retain the passive, adding the literal translation in parentheses. Examples:

*nitúyi otáuanik maáxsi* *his father-in-law kept saying the same thing to him (he was always told the same thing by his father-in-law)*.

*ómistsim kikábitsikinānoaists matóxkotok ánnàk kiksistəuauàk* *go and give (pl.) your old boiled bones to your mother*.

*omí nínai ápauauayxkai itāxkotsiauaie axkúinnimàn* *to that man, who was walking about, they then gave the pipe (then that man ... was given the pipe by them)*.

ámoia natoápii omá nínau áüsiua nitúyi noʒkátanistoʒkotsiu omi üs in the same way the man that had him for son-in-law also gave these holy things to his son-in-law (in the same way his son-in-law was given these holy things by that man ...).

itauáʒkumatáʒkoyiu annóma matápi ponokâmitaiks then he lent the horses to these people (then these people were lent the horses by him).

amóistsi (istsinixsists) sotâmaistamatsuaie then he taught (showed) him these (songs) (then he, 4 p., was shown these songs by him, 3 p.).

itâuaistamâtsuiaiks apistsi (we should expect apiksi, apis being, as far as I know, of the animate gender) he then showed them the ropes (then they were shown the ropes by him).

ki omi otsínaimoauai osókâsimi otsitânnitsiautomòk (otsitânnitsiautomòk) and their chief tore his clothes to pieces for him.

kepúyi atsiki áannaie anistsaitsinomòkit ten pair of moccasins, sew them for me.

omá nínau omi otânni minipokâiinai omá manikâpiu ánnayaie áuaykisko-moàu a chief's daughter, a child of plenty, was driven home to that young man (it was that young man, for whom it was a chief's daughter, a child of plenty, that was driven to his home would be an approximate translation of the sentence, omá manikâpiu being the real subject of it).

From some of the cited examples we see that the things given, or lent, or shown, or taught, etc. are treated in much the same way as in English. A construction as *he was given the pipe*, or *he was taught these songs*, is just as good English as Blackfoot.

#### § 14. Allocution.

Some terms of relationship may be slightly modified, when used as vocatives. This is the case with *ninna my father* : voc. *ninna*, *ninná*, or *ninnâh* (the *â* is very short and, as it were, cut off by an aspiration); *ní's(a) my elder brother or sister* (a man or woman speaking) : voc. *ní'sá* or *ní'sa*; *nisis(a) my younger brother or sister* (a woman speaking) : voc. *nisisá*; *noʒkoá my son* : voc. *noʒkoíi* (*noʒkoié*); *nitánna my daughter* : voc. *nitánna*, *nitanni* (*nitanné*); *niskáni my younger brother* (a man speaking) : voc. *niskáni*, *niskani*, or *nisko*; *naáʒs(a) my grand-parent, my parent-in-law* : voc. *naáʒsa*, *naaʒsí* (*naaʒsé*), or *naáʒsi*. It seems, that the forms *in-í* (*-é*) are rather obsolete, and also *nisko* as vocative of *niskáni* is out of use nowadays.

There are also a few suppletive vocatives in the language. An obsolete allocution-form of this kind is *noátoʒs*, which was used as a substitute of *niskani*, *nisko*, mentioned above as vocatives of *niskáni my younger brother*. Other suppletive vocatives are *na'á* : *niksistá my mother*; *napi* : *nitákâu my partner*; *kókoá* : *akékoân girl*; *tsíki* : *saʒkúmapí boy*. *Kókoá* and *tsíki* have the value of (*my*) *little girl*, (*my*) *little boy*, and are used, when one is talking to children, or to grown-up boys or girls as terms of endearment. Even a married woman is spoken to by her mother or grandmother in this

fond way. Tsiki is not so often used to grown-up boys as kókoa to big girls or women, and even a boy of ten or twelve years would not like it, if he was called tsiki by a stranger. An interesting variation of na'á is na'áiau. Some deserted children in an old folk-tale, when finding their mother's whetstone, cry and say to their mother, that cannot hear them: na'áiau, amóiauk kisúmakomi *mother-dear, here is your long round stone*. Grown-up people will address their mother with the unmodified word niksista.

It is to be noticed, that words with an independent form in -u a do not have this ending in the vocative, which is quite natural, since the independent form in -u a has the function of a third person, whereas the vocative is, of course, a second person. Nevertheless, words with an independent form in -a sometimes retain this ending in the vocative. So I remember to have heard a vocative O'maḡksistamikâ *Big-bull* instead of the shorter form O'maḡksistamik. Cf. about the independent forms of animate nouns § 15.

The emphatic vocatives with the suffix -a k i will be treated in § 16.

## CHAPTER IV.

### Flexion of nouns (continued).

#### § 15. Independent and subordinate forms.

In Blackfoot, as in Ojibway and other Algonquian languages, we must pay attention to the circumstance, *which person nouns* represent in the sentence. The following cases must be distinguished:

10. when they are considered to be the chief third person or persons in the sentence, without being subordinate to any other third person, in which case I use the term *independent form*:

20. when they are subordinate to that chief third person, so that they have the function of a fourth person, in which case the term *obviative* is used:

30. when they are subordinate to such a fourth person, so that they have the function of a fifth person, in which case the term *subobviative* has been adopted.

The terms *fourth* and *fifth person* were introduced in Algonquian grammar by Father van Ginneken.

It is to be observed, that in the possessive flexion with another person than the first or second as possessor, this possessor, if not himself subordinated and reduced to be a fourth person, is considered as the chief third person, and the person or the thing possessed as the fourth person. So forms as *únni his father*, *oksistsi his mother* are obviatives in themselves, because the son, even if not mentioned expressly, predominates in the mind of the speaker. When *his father* is subordinate to a person, other than the first or the second, and different from the son, instead of *únni* the sub-obviative-form *únniáii* is required.

A great many of the animate nouns, and some of the inanimate too, have modified endings in the obviative, and special forms for the subobviative occur also in both classes. On the other hand, a specially characterized independent form is rarely found in the inanimate gender (cf. cases as *apistsiskitsiua* : *apistsiskitsi flower*, *okiua* : *oki stem*), and even among the animate nouns there are a good many that have the same form whether they are independent or subordinate. Independent forms and obviatives, at least when they are not verbalized, are distinguished only in the singular, but the subobviative is also in the plural to be recognized by its suffix. In the singular the sign of the subobviative is not attached to the noun-stem, but to the obviative.

The independent form of nearly all animate nouns ending in a vowel or diphthong is characterized in the singular by the suffix *-u a* (*-w a*), but



often we hear - a u, - e u, - i u, instead of the full endings - a u a, - e u a, - i u a. The animate nouns ending in -o have the same suffix - u a (- w a) attached to them, but after the final o of the stem the consonantic u (w) is not heard distinctly as a sound by itself, but only as the transition from o to a, and therefore I omit it in writing. The same may be said of the consonantic u (w) of the suffix - u a (- w a), when added to a stem ending in a diphthong with u as second component.

Examples of independent forms of vowel-stems and stems ending in a diphthong, and the way they are used in the sentence:

omá imítáua itsipioťoisimiu *the dog went in the night to get a drink* : imítá *dog*.

áysiu ponókāmitaua naŷkókaixkoau *may I go straight to a good horse* : ponókāmíta *horse*.

stāmatsko omá sinopáua *then that kit-fox went back again* : sinopá *kit-fox*.

omá ákéua ómi mokákiin *that woman's husband was wise* : áké *woman*.

áísamò omá Páreua oťānik omí Natósi *after a long time Scar-face was told by the Sun* : Páie *Scar-face*.

Nápiua áutò, ixtápauáuaŷkau *the Old Man went, he traveled about* : Nápi *the-Old Man*.

omám A'kai-Pekāniā oťsinaim otānni mátaiomiu *there was a daughter of a chief of the ancient Peigans that did not marry* : A'kai-Pekāni *the ancient Peigan tribe*.

omá saŷkúmapiu ānistsiu omíksi ú'siks *that boy said to his elder brothers* : saŷkúmapí *boy*.

omá manikāpiua itaŷkáiiu *that young man then went home* : manikāpi *unmarried young man*.

áukanaisinstsimaie amói einiu *all these buffalo licked it* : einí *buffalo*.

kitákomimāua Mékyāksíua *you did love Red-scar* : Mékyāksi *Red-scar*.

annāŷkaiāki kixtsipimiu sístsiu *there is a spotted bird* : sístsi *(little) bird*.

ítóa mátoŷkúikiu *the leader-buffalo was not injured* : ito *leader-buffalo*.

kénnikaie amá (= omá) síkixtsisóa noŷkitsapunistaua (the text has -anistaua) *and then next was the moose to try his power* : síkixtsisó *moose*.

kikátáuksipjtsimoāua anná pokáu? anná pokáua anním inikíanim itauáuanistòm *do you have any suspicion of that child? that child is dipping it in that grease* : pokáu *child*.

omá nināua úskŷsaitapistotsiu *there was a man who was always moving*.

It must be noticed, however, that in many cases the short forms will be used for the chief third person in the sentence, e.g. imítá *dog* and ponókāmíta *horse* are not uncommon in this function.

Forms in -u(a) by the side of inanimate words ending in a vowel, such as okíu(a) : okí *stem*, apistsískitsiu(a) : apistsískitsi *flower*, are not to be considered as independent forms, as will appear from cases as:

itsitótóiau omím ómaŷksíkimiū *then they came there to a lake* : ómaŷksíkimi *lake* (the context shows that ómaŷksíkimiū is a fourth person).

ánn̄yauk otsí(t) sitoaʒsaie omí sist̄si, stám̄itsóks̄isinai omí okan̄iksiu *then, when he had hit the bird, it hung there on a branch : okan̄iksi branch.*

omá Maistópana otoʒkém̄an ixkots̄uaie omí áʒkéu *Crow-arrow's wife gave him water : áʒké water.*

Some animate nouns, most of them ending in a consonant, have an independent form in -a. Examples:

yóksimm̄èp̄itsiu n̄iskána *my younger brother has always been a laugher : n̄iskáni my younger brother* (though ending in a vowel, this word has no independent form in -u a).

óma ósáka sp̄sinip̄is *lick up to that piece of back-fat : ósáki back-fat* (a similar case as the preceding one).

omá skí'ma itápaisaipiū *that female (a she-bear) went stretching : skí'm female.*

Katoyisa ánn̄auk áuan̄iu j̄it̄ *was Clot-of-blood who was saying this : Katoyis Clot-of-blóod.*

omá nók̄osa kim̄atoʒtoʒkuiik̄ixpats̄iks *you will have no profit of that child of mine : nók̄os my child.*

suiést̄amikà m̄atats̄ikopumats̄ *the water-bull was not afraid any more : suiést̄amik water-bull* (a compound of stám̄ik *bull*, whose independent form is stám̄ika).

omá Imitáikoāna nitán̄istau *I told Little-dog : Imitáikoān Little-dog* (imitáikoān *puppy*).

omá akékoāna stám̄itakom̄im̄miua omí saʒkúmap̄ii *that girl then fell in love with that boy : akékoān girl.*

But in such phrases the forms n̄iskáni, ósáki, skí'm, Katoyis, nók̄os, suiést̄amik, Imitáikoān, akékoān would also be allowed.

A peculiar independent form is nok̄its̄isau (in nisót̄amas̄ists̄im̄au nok̄its̄isau *I then washed my finger*); I am sure, there are more of this kind (so it is probable, that e.g. motok̄sis *knee* is treated in the same way as mok̄its̄is *finger*, both of them being animate), but still it is the only one I have met with.

All what is said about independent forms relates only to the singular, for in the plural non-verbalized nouns have neither special forms for the chief third person, nor for the fourth person. In certain classes of the intransitive verbs with animate subject, and, regularly, in the transitive verb with animate logical object, however, the distinction of the third and fourth persons is grammatically expressed in the plural as well as in the singular.

Where a distinct form for the obviative exists, its usual suffix is -i (i), but the obviative-ending of words in -a u is nearly always -a i (i) instead of -a u i (i), and the words in -i and -e often have simply -i and -e in the obviative instead of -i i and -e i. The terms of relationship in -a have an obviative-formation of their own, which will be treated below. Before giving some examples of the obviative and its use in the sentence, I have to remind the reader of the fact, that nouns to which the possessive

prefix of the third person is attached, are always treated as fourth persons, the possessor, unless himself subordinate, being the chief third person. Examples of the obviative:

itanistsiu nitákài he then said to my partner : nitákau my partner.

omá saḡkúmapiu stámitapomaḡkàu omi otákài that boy then ~~gave~~ over to his partner : nitákau my partner.

ánistsiixk omima nínai it was he that said to the chief : nínau chief.

áikókò omá nínau ápaistotsim óḡpsists, omi pokáii áisauḡpatatstoḡkinai in the night the man was fixing his arrows, the child was giving somebody outside a taste (of the grease) : pokáu child.

matsépuyi omi otánni otámokosin, einipokai omi òkós next summer his daughter gave birth to a child, that child of hers was a buffalo-calf : einipokau buffalo-calf.

omi únni sotámisimioḡkotsiu omi imitáii he then gave that dog secretly to his father : imitá dog.

otsixkauai itótòae then he got to his tribe : nitsixkauau my tribe.

kennistsi mókákists omim áutopatai ánnistsi áuḡkotsiu and that pemmican, (the people) gave that to the chief with whom certain persons were staying : áutopatau the chief with whom certain persons were staying in his lodge, when the people were corraling.

ánistsiu omá Nápiua omi ponokái the Old Man said to the elk : ponokáu elk.

ki Nápiua itássimaie omi misisái and the Old Man wiped the faeces off : misisáu faeces (inanimate).

otsitanik omi pitaii then he was told by the eagle : pitau eagle.

ixtáminai omi otskinai his horn sounded : notskinau my horn.

ánnimaie úsi Okoáisai. okóaiinai that was the lodge of his son-in-law Belly-fat : Okoáisau Belly-fat.

omi-ksikunistai áiitòmoau that white buffalo-calf was skinned for him : ksikunistau white buffalo-calf.

itanistsiu omi sinopáii he then said to that kit-fox : sinopá kit-fox.

áisamo itsúmmòsiu omi otánni, amóia áḡkéi itámsokixtaixtsiu áatsistai after a long while her daughter went after water, there by the water suddenly lay a rabbit : áatsista rabbit (notice the lack of congruence between itámsokixtaixtsiu and the obviative áatsistai).

otstsinai, his cheek (by the side of otstsinai) : motstsinai cheek (inanimate).

Ninoḡḡyaioa okóai Bear-chief's house or lodge : nokóa my house or lodge (inanimate).

otánik omi kipitákei he was told by that old woman : kipitáke old woman.

áḡkéi itsápunistau he then made his supernatural power with water : áḡké water (inanimate).

otákáii Páiei his partner Scar-face : Páie Scar-face.

ánistsiu omi nápi he said to that old man : nápi old man.

omá saḡkinau námaḡkau omi nápii kákitsitokapoḡtasiuanaákaie that

young man, that took the gun, was just led round about through the crowd by an old man : nápi old man.

kénnaie otoḡkúskúsinok, einii otáiksisátaxs in that way he was found out by him, that he was hiding the buffalo : eini buffalo.

eini itámsokitspiäupiiau then they suddenly sat among the buffalo : eini buffalo.

amói matâpi otáḡkánanik these people all said to him (he was told by all these people) : matâpi people.

ki itsinniu omi misoḡpskii and then he caught the musk-rat : misoḡpski musk-rat.

manistsapsi, itsinim omi saḡkúmapii ḡḡsokuists when she looked, she saw the boy's tracks : saḡkúmapii boy.

itsikámosatsiu omi otátuyi he then stole that black-fox : otátuyi fox, red-fox (used here for sikotátuyi black-fox).

áinoyiua Soyisksii he saw Curly-dog : Soyisksi Curly-dog.

omá ninau itótsim omik istsii that man took there a fire-stick : istsii fire (inanimate).

O'tskúskiua ḡḡpsii ixtsitsiksiskaykoyiu Blue-face then touched her with his arrow : ápssi arrow (inanimate).

otsikóäninai maiâi his robe was a yellow calf (it was a yellow calf that was his robe) : maiâi robe.

omá akéua otánik itoi that woman was told by the leader-buffalo : ito leader-buffalo.

otsítanik omi sikixtsisóii he then was told by the moose : sikixtsisó moose.

omá ponokaístamik ánistisiu maístói that elk-bull said to the crow : maístói crow.

kénnaie Nápiua itsitapiokau, omi natáioi itsitótöyín omiksim ómaḡko-kataiks and then the Old Man slept soundly (literally: really), a bob-cat came there to those gophers : natáio bob-cat.

itsinóyiu omi kyáioii he then saw there a bear : kyáio bear.

stapót omi nitúmmoi go to that hill over there : nitúmmo hill (inanimate).

omi suiéstamiki ánistisiu she said to that water-bull : suiéstamik water-bull.

omi ski'mi stámotomitápoḡpaipiu then he first jumped to that female (a she-bear) : ski'm female.

omi katoyisi stámsapixtsiu he then put that blood-clot in : katoyis blood-clot.

ki omi mistsísi omá manikâpiu ánniaie itótsisksipistsiu opokáḡkatsimàn and that young man had tied his quill-ornament to that stick : mistsis stick (inanimate).

We have still to mention an irregularity in the obviative-formation of the relationship-terms in -a. In the possessive forms of the singular — I mean the singular of the person possessed — that vowel is substituted by -i or modified to -ai, whenever these forms stand for the fourth person. This is, of course, always the case, when the possessive prefix is of the third person, but when a possessive prefix of the first or second person is attached to

the word, then it depends on the context, whether it is to be put in the obviative or not. The modification of *-a* to *-ai* is confined to the forms with pluralized possessor of the second and third persons; the other obviatives in question have the simple ending *-i*. In the plural of the person possessed there are no special obviative-forms. Takè, for instance, the word "father": *ninna my father*, *kinna your father*, *ninnàna our (excl.) father*, *kinnùna our (incl.) father* have the obviatives *ninni*, *kinni*, *ninnàni*, *kinnùni*, whereas *ùnni his father* is an obviative in itself. *Kinnoàua your (plur.) father* has the obviative *kinnoàuai*, having the ending *-ai* in common with *unnoauai their father*, which is an obviative, whatever its syntactical relations in the sentence may be. In the same way is the obviative-formation of the other terms of relationship in question: cf. *niksista : obv. niksistsi my mother : oksistsi his mother* (*ts* assimilated from *t* before *i*); *noxkóa : obv. noxkói(i) my son : oxkói(i) his son*; *ní'sa : obv. ní'si my elder brother : ú'si his elder brother*; *ninista : obv. ninistsi my elder sister : únistsi his elder sister* (*ts* as in *niksistsi*, *oksistsi*); *nisísa : obv. nisísi my younger brother or sister* (a woman speaking) : *oxsisi her younger brother or sister*; *naáxsa : obv. naáxsi my grand-parent, my parent-in-law : máaxsi his grand-parent, his parent-in-law*; *nóma : obv. nómi my husband : ómi her husband*; *nísa : obv. nísi my son-in-law : úsi his son-in-law*; *nimsa : obv. nímisi my daughter-in-law : ómsi his daughter-in-law*; *nistamóa : obv. nistamói(i) my brother-in-law : ostamói(i) his brother-in-law*, etc. It is not necessary to give all the other forms, for the reader can make them himself without any difficulty. Nevertheless, it may be desirable to show, how such obviatives of relationship-terms with possessive prefixes of the first and second persons are used in the sentence:

*ánistsiu niksistsi he told my mother* (but *kitánistau niksista you told my mother*).

*sootámitoxkotsiu ninni iitan then he gave my father a saddle* (but *nisotámitoxkotau ninna iitan then I gave my father a saddle*).

*itsinóyiu kinnoàuai then he saw your (plur.) father* (but *nitsitsinoàu kinnoàua then I saw your, plur., father*).

About the predicative obviatives in *-inai* (*-in*) see § 19 (cf. § 101).

Whereas the third and the fourth persons are distinguished from each other by special noun-forms only in the singular, the fifth person or so-called subobviative is characterized in the plural as well as in the singular by the suffix *-ai(i)* (*-aie*). In the singular the sign of the subobviative is not attached to the noun-stem, but to the obviative. In the plural it is attached to the plural-form of the noun.

I shall give first some examples of the subobviative in the singular:

*omi ómiai omik noxkoxtáumaykáin, ákainìn otoxkéman her husband was running over to her, his wife was already dead* (*ómi her husband* is substituted here by the subobviative *ómiai*, because a man in the preceding sentence is considered as the chief third person, and the woman as the fourth person, so that her husband stands for the fifth person).

omí nínaiinai itsistsipoxtoyuaie otoxkémániaii *he ran away with the wife of (another) chief that there was* (he is the third person, the chief whose wife he takes away is the fourth person, the wife herself the fifth person: therefore she is called otoxkémániaii instead of otoxkémán, or otoxkémáni).

Nitáiksikimisimaiks otsinaimoauai otoxkémániaii *the wife of the chief of the Lone-coffee-makers* (the Lone-coffee-makers represent the chief third person, their chief is the fourth person, his wife the fifth).

omá ninàua maâyxi ki otoxkémániaii *that man's father-in-law and his, i.e. the father-in-law's, wife* (if that man's wife, and not his father-in-law's, had been meant, the fourth person otoxkémán would have been used).

ki omí aiâxkèmi osótamopaukaie omí otsisoxkémániai, ki okóai, ki otómopistàniksi *and the owner of the beaver-bundle then paid him his younger wife, and his lodge, and his beaver-bundle* (the man to whom the presents are given in payment is the third person, the owner of the beaver-bundle the fourth person, the younger wife, etc., the fifth person: therefore otsisoxkémániai is used instead of otsisoxkémán, or otsisoxkémáni).

omá manikâpiua ánistsiuaie omí Páie ostámoiaii *that young man said to Scar-face's brother-in-law* (if there had been used ostámói instead of ostámoiaii, one would think that Scar-face was the young man's brother-in-law, and that the young man was speaking to Scar-face, whereas, as the sentence runs now, it is quite clear that the brother-in-law is subordinate to the fourth person, and not an apposition of it).

omí apí'si mátskoxkotsiu oápsspiiai *he gave that coyote his eye back again* (he is the third person, the coyote the fourth person, the coyote's eye the fifth person: therefore oápsspiiai is used instead of oápsspi).

tókskami ki itspinamoyiuaie (= itspinomoyiuaie) osókàsímiaii *and he lifted up the dress of one of them* (if he lifted up his own dress, osókàsimi would have been used).

oxksisísaii kúmonuinàtsiuaie *its bill was green-coloured* (the person who sees the bird is the third person, the bird the fourth person, the bird's bill the fifth person).

otsisani ixtsitâpaikotsinaiuaie ostoksisai *with her paint she began to paint him about on his face* (ostoksisai has the subobviative-suffix, because she does not paint her own face).

ki omí itótsim iit, itsitsâpistaimaie oxtókisaii *and she took the elk-horn, she hammered it in into his ear* (she is the third person, the man she kills the fourth person, that man's ear the fifth).

omí otaxkúinnimàniai nánautokân *that pipe of hers was a skull* (the children mentioned in a preceding sentence stand for the third person, so the pipe-owner is the fourth person, and her pipe the fifth).

Saxkókiniks únnoauai iiksaxkiu oxkokiniai *the neck of the father of the Short-necks was very short* (the Short-necks are the third person, their father is the fourth, his neck the fifth).

oxkói otókimatsisaii *his son's drum* (the son is the fourth person, his father being the third, so that the son's drum stands for the fifth).

In the latter part of our list of examples — to begin with *osókàsímiaii* — we have to do with inanimate words. In cases of double subordination sub-obviative-forms seem to be obligatory with inanimate as well as with animate nouns.

Sometimes it is not quite clear, why the ending *-a ii* is attached to a word: so, for instance, in *nítáxkuiinnimaniaii nitoxtóietòxp I filled my pipe* (in the preceding sentences the speaker mentions his companions, who seem to stand for the chief third person, and certain rocks, which may represent the fourth person, so that the speaker's pipe had to take the subobviative-ending), or in *omáii A'pekoxkùminimàii her (new) husband was Round-cut-scabby-robe* (she seems to be the chief third person, as in the preceding sentences, her former husband remains the fourth person, her new husband must be the fifth).

In the same way as in the singular, the subobviative is used in the plural of animate and inanimate nouns (here the gender may be recognized by the plural-ending, *-ks* for the animate, *-sts* for the inanimate class):

*otákai otoxkémaiksaii his partner's wives* (he is the third person, his partner the fourth person, the partner's wives the fifth).

*ixkanáinoyiaie amó sámui, óxpsistsàii ixtáiişaxkumina i all these that hunted saw him, he was shooting his arrows ahead* (the people that saw him are the third person, the person seen by them is the fourth person, his arrows are the fifth).

*oxtókistsaii itauátapiksáimina i he* (characterized by the verbal ending as a fourth person, just as *ixtáiişaxkumina i*, cited above) *shook his ears*.

*okúyistsaii kanáuomianistsinátsiaii its feathers were all of different colours* (viz. of a bird, seen by a man in a preceding sentence).

*oxkátsistsaii nitúyi nitsinátsiau its legs had the same colour (as its bill)* (of a bird, seen by a man who stands for the chief third person).

It stands to reason that the distinction of the third, fourth, and fifth persons plays a great part in the verb. The obviative we shall meet again in the personal, demonstrative, and other pronouns.

#### § 16. The suffix *-a ki*.

Passing on to other elements that may be attached to nouns, I mention in the first place the suffix *-a ki*, which is used to emphasize a noun, no matter whether it is animate or inanimate, or any other part of speech, representing a noun or referring to it, designating a person or a thing, respectively persons or things, spoken of or spoken to. Very often it is attached to verbal forms, and therefore I shall have to return to it in § 103. Its other uses will be treated here.

Very often it is used to emphasize a noun or any kind of substitute of a noun, designating a person or a thing, respectively persons or things, out of sight, e.g.:

*noxxoié, spóxtxkaki natósiu my son, the people on high are holy* (*spóxtxk* is properly an adverb, meaning *on high*).

nótasàki iinnis *get my horse over there.*

anistsis nitoχkémanàki, nitáχsaupi *tell my wife (that wife of mine) that I am all right.*

nitáinakasimiksàki isámmisau *see my waggon too (to look how it is).*

matótsit nisópatsisàki *get my seat too.*

Sometimes, however, it is used of persons and things in sight, e.g.:

amóiaiki mokákixtsit *take care of this here (speaking, for instance, of a pipe, which one holds in one's hand).*

The suffix -a k i is also put behind vocatives, without any restriction of the persons spoken to being within or out of sight. In old songs and stories it is frequently used in this way, especially where two or more persons are addressed. It is to be noticed, however, that, when one speaks to more than one person, emphasizing the allocution by means of -a k i, this suffix will be attached to the vocative singular, the plurality of the persons spoken to not being expressed in the noun by any external sign. Examples of -aki in emphatic allocution:

napiaki, kikátaikimmoka nimátoχkaíiksikimmáuaki *my partner, who does not pity you, I do not pity him.*

óki, anétakit, ánni ninauàki *come on, make haste, all the men here.*

áuke, niskánaki, sotámoχtoχpàipiik *come on, my younger brothers, just jump from it.*

áio, niskánaki, ámokaie nitápaskok *help, my younger brothers, here comes one chasing me.*

potókik, niskóaki *let me loose, my younger brothers.*

a'eá, ni'sáuaki, kokúnunists ákaisauainakuyi *alas, my elder sisters, our lodges are not seen any more.*

aiá, ni'sáuàki, kinstununa ixkyáiaχpatomiu *alas, my elder brothers, our elder sister had a bear for a lover.*

amóksisk akéuaki *you women here.*

á, kipitákeuàki, kitáikixpuau? *ah, old women, what are you doing?*

nokósaki, ómamàuk kiksistoaua *my children, there is your mother.*

sotámipik, nókósaki, ómi istópik *come right in, my children, sit down over there.*

## § 17. Demonstrative endings.

When a noun is accompanied by a demonstrative pronoun, to which a restrictive suffix is attached, the noun itself will not rarely take the same, or nearly the same, suffix as the pronoun, so that the result is a kind of congruence between the noun and its pronominal attribute. This congruence is one of the most characteristic features of the Blackfoot language. As, on the other hand, the noun determines the gender of the pronoun, there may be stated a reciprocal influence. The same as is said here about the congruence of nouns with demonstrative pronouns may be repeated, mutatis mutandis, in § 18, where the congruence between nouns and relative pronouns will be treated.



The restrictive demonstrative endings which are communicated to the noun are -i(a), -m(a), -k(a). When defined by a demonstrative pronoun with the restrictive ending -i(a), the noun usually takes the ending -i (not -ia).

Congruence of nouns with pronominal forms in -i(a):

áisaksíniki, istsipótos amóia imitáuai *when I am going out, turn this dog loose.*

amói einiuai itsistokipiksiu *these buffalo fled, making noise with their feet.*  
áisamo itsúmmòsiu omí otánni, amóia áǵkéi itámsokixtaixtsiu áatsistai  
*after a long while her daughter went after water, there by the water suddenly lay a rabbit.*

omái pokáuau ánistssiixk omí oksists *that child said to his mother.*

ómaia únnasinaia *those men over there; omáia otákesinaia those women*  
(in these two cases both the pronoun and the noun show the full ending -ia).

tsánistapsiua annái 'pokáuai? *what kind (i.e. what sex) is that child?*

áio, pináminakatók annái itsiwanai *I pray you, do not roll that gambling-wheel eastward.*

Congruence of nouns with pronominal forms in -m(a):

stámitapixtsisóiau amóm einiim *they then went in to these buffalo.*

amóm máksiniuám ksistápists sotámikakótsit *take just only the choicest parts of this carcass.*

amóm óǵkotokim autámitsipistaniäǵpatskuyi *then they had tramped around this rock, so that there was a deep hole.*

ámóm mistsisim akitópiu *it will sit on this tree.*

anistâykiäpiksatós amóm mistsisum, áistamómaykaupitsiksotoyiu *every time he butted this tree, he then stripped off big pieces of it.*

ki amóm ómayksikimiim akatánnitäpiksim *and he will also scatter this lake.*

ki omáma akékoänama itanistsiua Nápi *and that girl told the Old Man.*

omám aǵkyápoǵtám ákéuam *a woman over there at home.*

nitsstáitapiu omám áuyiuam *that one eating is living the last of his life.*

omáma ninauam itsipuáu *that chief got up.*

itanistsiua omíma matäpiima *he then told the people.*

stámitotò omím ikúnaïim *he then got to the people that were camping.*  
itsinóyiu omím akéyam otsipáutsimòki *he then saw that woman that refused him.*

ki itskó omíma stsikim akéima *and then he went back to the other woman.*

stámatsitotò omím kipitákeima *then he came back to that other old woman.*

átsitotò omím einiim *he came again to buffalo that there were.*

opaksátsis ixtsitákiu omím otskinaïim *she hit that horn of his with her stone-hammer.*

itauápatsimiäiks omím máksiniim *then they were sorry for that carcass.*

itáikstsikikasiu omím mistsisim *he scratched his back on that tree.*

omim mistákim ánnamaie ónokâmitasin on that mountain there are many horses.

omí otsisoꝯkeman itsitápiu omim nitúmmoyim he took his youngest wife to that butte.

ómima miníima áꝯkitsitapaꝯkyoꝯsopa let us paddle to that island over there.

ki omiksi kipitákeks itsóꝯkaipuyiáua omíma auátsimánima and those old women were standing in front of that hole.

einíua mátaoꝯkòtskitsipimats omim ómaꝯksikimíim the buffalo-herd could not go back into that lake.

nitsitaisinikók omíma páskàniim manistsixpi he then was telling me about that dance how it was.

áitótaipiinai omim atsikinim he (4 p.) then got to that moccasin.

omíksima kipitákeksima those old women; omíksima nápiksima those old men.

stámikitaiimíiua amíksima (= omíksima) ksiskstakíksima they just got used to those beavers.

nisótamitskitanàni omíksim áinakasíksim then we (excl.) left that waggon.

nisótamapaixkaꝯtoꝯpinani omístsim íksisakuístsim and then it was we (excl.) sold the meat(s).

tokskáie omístsima ókoais(a)istsima one of those pieces of belly-fat.

aiáu, aꝯkúnauaipokakiu annám ninauam, miškátsáksist oh, before that man wakes up, you had better go out again instead.

annám ksikunístauam pinápanàs that that white buffalo-calf may have no blood on it.

kaꝯkitánistaua annáma matápiuama that you may say to the people there.

kitoꝯkanòꝯkot annóm matápiuam I give you all the people here.

ánistsiu annóm matápiuam he told these people here.

annóm matapiim màtauáꝯsooyiau they also take the wives of the people here away by force.

nimátakanístsitoau annóm nókosam I shall not consent to what my children here say.

annóma asitápiuama the young people here.

Congruence of nouns with pronominal forms in -k(a):

ki amók ótapisinik itsinóksistotoyiau and then they told the happy news to these people behind.

napi, amók itáixtsiuak A'skstakíua omíksksáuaúatskòs partner, do not stir this one lying here, the Blood-sucker.

amók moꝯsokúyik áutsapómaꝯkau it was going back on the same trail.

amók einióꝯsokúyik sákioꝯsapauáuaꝯkau (the text has -saupauáuaꝯkau) he was still walking in this buffalo-trail.

ámok kaiíksik pítsikóꝯts ánnayaie itstót put it there on one side of this trail.

aiáu, manikâpi, káꝯkstamoꝯtòki ámoksik ístséksinaikokáiksik oh, young man, these owners of the snake-painted lodge might hear you.

ákaisistopii ístsisómaiks, ixtsisapiksisáinai amóksik akíksik the hidens

were sitting already, (the buffalo-herd) ran between these stone-piles.  
 nimoxtstuyis, nítániixp omák akéuák I am ashamed of what that woman said to me.

omák akékoänäk anistsís, nákoχkoχkématau tell that girl that I want to marry her.

omá nápiu itanístsiu omík ūsik the old man said to that son-in-law of his.  
 otsinóaxsi omik akéik when he saw that woman.

aisksinoódsau, omík manikâpiik otokamâtsimaie when they knew them,  
 that some young man there was her lover.

omik ómayksiksímiik ixtsitóχtoyiu she then heard him from that log there.

omik auámik otómoχtotóχpiixpi where that snow-shoe had come from rushing along.

ki itótsim omík istsik and he took the fire there.

omik inánik ákitaipakstsip that marrow of the leg will burst by chewing.

ómistsim kikâpitsikinânoaists matóχkotok ánnák kiksístoauák go and give your old boiled bones to that mother of yours.

ánnák nisésák áuaniu that younger brother of mine is saying.

nâχksistsamsâuxtapatsimâua ánnák, ninnák, niksísták, niskâiks it will be since a long time past that I did not care for those, for my father, my mother, my younger brothers.

kitâiiksikímmatsistotoau ánnák nókósak you have done very poorly to those children of mine.

ánnik kokúyik nâχksók when I then sleep in the night (or, perhaps better: when it will happen that I then sleep in the night).

ánnistsik mistsistsik ánnistsikaie tsipaχpákit brush with those sticks that are lying there.

Even when the accompanying pronoun has no restrictive suffix attached to it, or when there is no accompanying pronoun at all, the noun will sometimes have such a suffix, e.g.

omi unistâχsima íksisakuyi that calf's meat.

omi manikâpiim that young man.

niskánák, kitómakaitapiixpuau, kâχksksotómoχkanaistsitsoχpuau my younger brothers, because you are so many, let me just bury you all at once (mind the use of niskánák as a vocative).

On the other hand it happens very often, that the pronoun has a restrictive ending without the noun agreeing with it, e.g.

áukanaisinstsimaie amói einíu all these buffalo licked it.

omáma ninau, otáísauotoχs otoχkémian, itâpsopóaxtsisatsiu when his wife did not come, that man began to ask for her.

áiiksísamo itsitótò omím mistúki after a very long time he came to that mountain.

itámsoksinim omíma moyís otsitsípstaupisi then she suddenly saw, it was a lodge she was sitting in.

omiksim ksískstakíi otsítsuièpiokaikisi then he was taken into the water by some beavers there.

annóm matápiu, kaḡkitápaiksima, akāḡtuitsiu omi piskáni *people here, you might go and touch, the corral is full.*

ki omák natáio itsitótò *and there was a bob-cat coming along.*  
ákainim omík apáuiki *he had seen there a flint-knife.*

### § 18. Relative endings.

When a noun is accompanied by a pronoun, to which an emphatic relative suffix is attached, it will often take a relative ending. Here we have still another instance of congruence between the pronoun and the noun, to which it belongs. It is to be noticed, that in many cases the relative pronouns of Blackfoot are to be rendered by English demonstratives.

The emphatic relative endings which are communicated to the noun are -ḡk(a) or -aḡk(a), -xk(a) or -ixk(a), and -sk or -isk. The choice of -ḡk(a) or -xk(a) is conditioned by the preceding vowel.

Congruence of nouns with pronominal forms in -ḡk(a) and -xk(a):  
nitsikstünnoau annāḡka ninauayḡk *I am very much afraid of that man.*  
noḡkoḡkókit annāḡk akéuayḡk *I pray you, give me that woman.*

nikáinitónan annāḡk kipitákeuayḡk *we have killed that old woman.*

anná annāḡk nápiuayḡk? *where is that old man?*

annāḡk akékoānayḡk nitómoḡtanistotok ixtauákomimmotseopi *that girl used some love-medicine on me.*

anníksiskaie ktsii nitoyḡkóniman; annāḡka opokásinaḡka ixtayḡkixtsiua *I found there some shells; those children crowded together and took them away.*

annāḡk Pekánikoānayḡk áinitsiuayḡk sauúmitsitapiks, ánnayḡkaie oḡsokóai *that is the road of that Peigan who killed bad people.*

stapók annāḡk A'isinokòpiuayḡk *go over there to that Inhaler.*

nitákoḡkit(s)ikskimatau annāḡk kétokiūayḡk *I shall go and shoot that prairie-chicken.*

annāḡk kitsixkauāuayḡk tsinikit *kill some one of your tribe.*

annāḡk soóayḡk *those who went to war.*

āḡsa ákokoytaiinitayḡpi amóḡk einiūayḡk? *what can these buffalo be killed with?*

mátsitāpyakèu amóḡk nitoyḡkēmanayḡk *this my wife is not a real woman.*

amóḡk pokáuayḡk saḡkúmapiuāsis *if this child turns out to be a boy.*

stāau amóḡk nitāuauaiākiokayḡk *this one that hits me is a ghost.*

ki ómayḡk inákstsimaḡk niksistayḡk kitáksipunixtat *and I shall pay you my youngest mother.*

ómayḡk ómayḡksimaḡk otokáni *the head of that oldest one.*

tsiāḡtau nitákauatòḡpayḡtau annóḡk istuyiixk? *where is it that I shall eat now this winter?*

ánnoḡk-kāiokùixk *now this night.*

ánnixkaie ánnnoḡk-ksistsikùixk nimoḡtaistunnòanàni isistsiks *that is why nowadays we are afraid of wolverines.*

Examples of the treatment of nouns when accompanied by the inanimate relative pronoun *annixk*:

*annixk pistāẏkanixk otāpikẏtoẏpik* (= *otāpaixkẏtoẏpik*) *ikūkāpiu*  
*the tobacco which he sold is very bad.*

*annixk nitāẏpūmmaixk nāpioyisk ikōmaẏko* *the house which I bought is very large.*

*annixk anākimatsisk nitsinixpik* *ōmaẏko* *the lamp which I saw is big.*

Congruence of nouns with pronominal forms in *-sk*:

*nitākāua imāitskamiu aniisk suiētapiisk* *my partner is still fighting that person of the water.*

*annisk opokāsinisk itsiniōtoinaiks* *those children took them (i.e. the shells) all away.*

*ānnisk ksāẏkusk nimoẏtotōtaki* *I went to get some of that earth.*

*anniksisk ākēksk āikakiakiisk* *akāuaykaiiau* *the women who were chopping have gone home.*

*anniksisk porōkāmītaisk* *āukskasaiksk* *the horses that are running.*

*ōmīkskāuki anniksisk kyāioisk* *there they are, those bears.*

*anniksisk istseksinaikokāiksk otsinōksoaists* *the happy things of those owners of the snake-painted lodge.*

*annistsisk anākimatsistisk nitsinixpistisk* *ōmaẏkoiau* *the lamps which I saw are big.*

*annistsisk otāpistotaksistisk istsikitsikiistisk iksokāpiaists* *the shoes which he made are very good.*

*ānnamaie nitōkskam nānoyiu amōisk A'sopumstāyisk* *that was the only one who saw this Wind-maker.*

*niksista nitānik, nāẏkotomoāipiksistaẏs amōksisk osākiksk* *my mother told me, that I should come and gather up these pieces of back-fat.*

*annōẏk omīksisk nisisiksk ixkitsiketapii* *now those younger brothers of mine are seven.*

*aiskōtos omīksisk pokāiksk* *when those children come back.*

Once in a while a noun will take an emphatic relative ending, even when it is not accompanied by a pronoun, e.g. *ikskītauayk akāẏtāutoẏp* *some of the deserted ones have come here.*

Often we find the ending *-ixk* attached to nouns, accompanied by a pronoun without a relative ending, e.g.:

*omā nīnaiixk nitōẏkēmiu* *there was a man that had one wife.*

*omā nīnaiixk nitsitāukunaiixk* *there was a man that camped alone.*

*omā nīnaipokāiixk ākēu mātaiōmīixkats* *there was a chief's child, a woman, that would not marry.*

*omā kipitākeixk otōmitam ānistain Soyisksi* *there was an old woman whose dog was called, Curly.*

*omā manikāpiixk itāpsāmiua mistākists* *there was a young man that hunted about in the mountains.*

*omā manikāpiixk ixpauáskiu* *there was a young man who had a ridge-scar on his face.*

ki omá apiksístamikixk nitaxtsakoàumaykau and there was a scabby bull that was the last one running.

kitóxtsi annó niétaxtàiixk itstáisksiks on top of a hill at the side of that river he thought.

On the other hand it often happens, that the noun does not agree with an accompanying relative pronoun, e.g.:

ánnaie itáupiu annáxk kistamó right here stays that brother-in-law of yours.

kitsipóxsotasámoxpau: annáxk kiksista: I come to see you both, your mother (and yourself).

kakó, istotoiómit annáxk Okoáisau go on, go and marry Belly-fat.

nikáinitaua ánnaxk Nápiua I have killed that Old Man already.

ámauk, annáxk ninna here is he, who is my father.

anákauk (= annákauk) annáxk nisa there comes he, who is my son-in-law.

ánnauk annáxk koýkóa there is he, who is your son.

kitápotoàua anniksisk pokáiks? did you turn loose those children?

amóxk ksáxkuma nitáiaýto(k) this earth hears me.

amóxk nitotómitsiniksini saiaínisoxtsi itstsiu this my first story happened in the lower country.

amóxk nipáskanani this our (literally: my) dance.

omáxka ninsta that elder sister of ours (literally: of mine).

omi kyáipokài itápasapin omistsisk átsinnaiists that bear-cub looked about for those pieces of fat.

otsitamsókanikóaiu amóisk kipitáke then they were suddenly told by an old woman that there was.

### § 19. Nominal predicate.

Predicatively used, substantives are treated as intransitive verbs. In the third person of the singular, however, nouns may function as predicate without undergoing any change, but if they have a special independent form, in predicative function this form is usually preferred to the unextended word-stem. Examples: imitáua it is a dog; omá ninau(a) he is a man; saýkúmapí(ua) it is a boy; akékoán it is a girl; ostói nítánna she is my daughter; oáu it is an egg; misták it is a mountain (in this case it is to be observed, that in non-predicative use the Indians will say mistáki, though in spisták high mountain the final i is dropped).

In certain cases a suffix -aie is attached to a nominal predicate of the inanimate gender, e.g. oáuaie it is an egg, asókaiisaie it is a trunk, asópatsisaie it is a seat. After all, it must be identical with the suffix -a i i or -a i e, by which the subobviative is characterized (see § 15), and which also plays a part in the conjugation (see § 102). I was told by an Indian, that for it is an egg in most cases the simple word oáu (oáua) will suffice, but that in answering a question one must say oáuaie. Whether or not

this distinction is borne out by real use, does not appear from my texts and grammatical notes.

In the plural, when predicatively used, nouns take a verbal ending, e.g. *ninaiau they are men, there are men*; *kyáioiau they are bears, there are bears*; *ponokáiau they are elks, there are elks*, even used for *they are of elk-skin* (for instance, of moccasins); *moyisau there are lodges*; *oáiau there are eggs*.

About the plurals in -i(i), mentioned in § 11, which probably are to be considered as predicative, see below at the end of this paragraph.

In the first and second persons, singular and plural, predicative nouns are also conjugated like true verbs, e.g. *nitsápi I am an old man*, *kitsápi you are an old man*, *nikáiapixpinan we (excl.) are already old men* : *nápi(ua) an old man, he is an old man*; *nitsakiauasitapi I am still a young person* : *asitápi(ua) a young person, he is a young person*; *nitsápikoän I am a white man*, *kitsápikoänixpuau you (pl.) are white men* : *nápikoän a white man, he is a white man*.

Nouns, when used as a negative predicate, are treated as negative verbs. Examples: *mátsinauatsiks it is not a man* : *ninau man*; *mátsápikoänatsiks he is not a white man* : *nápikoän white man*; *mátakèuats it is not a woman* : *aké woman*; *mátsaykumapiuats it is not a boy* : *saykumapi boy*; *mátatoàpiapikoänats he is not a priest* : *natoápiapikoän priest* ; *mátsinókāmitauatsiks it is not a horse* : *ponokāmita horse*; *mátatauuyiuats it is not a deer* : *áuatuyi deer*; *mátsiponokáuats it is not an elk* : *ponokáu elk*; *mátožkyàioats it is not a bear* : *kyáio bear*; *mátsiksiskstakiuats it is not a beaver* : *ksiskstaki beaver*; *mátožkats it is not a pail* : *nóžk my pail* (: *isk pail*); *mátožkaksākinats it is not an axe* : *kāksākin axe*; *mátsipotātsisats it is not a stove* : *potātsis stove*; *mátsipotānats it is not a camp-fire* : *potāni camp-fire*; *mátsistsiuats it is not a fire* : *istsi fire*; *mátskinētsimānats it is not a bag* : *skinētsimāni bag*; *mátsistakatsiks it is not a mountain* : *mistāki mountain*. Such expressions may be used also with the meaning, that there is none of the species indicated by the noun, from which they are derived. E.g. *mátožkyàioats* may mean *there is no bear* as well as *it is not a bear*. If one wants to express plurality in the negation, one has to make use of a collective in -s k o : *mátsinaiskòats there are no men*, *mátožkyaiòskoats there are no bears*, *mátsiponokaskòats there are no elks*, *mátoyiskòats there are no lodges*, *mátoaiiskòats there are no eggs*.

It will be understood, that negative predicative verbs of the type *mátsinauatsiks it is not a man* occur also in other persons than the third, e.g. *nimátsápixpa I am not an old man*, *kimátauauaykautsèixpa you are not a warrior*.

Though one can say in Blackfoot *omá ninna he is my father*, *omá niksista she is my mother*, etc., the Indians often prefer to make use of possessive verbs (cf. § 79), especially in cases of adoptive relationship. A few examples of this Blackfoot idiom will suffice: *nitúnnimau (nitáunimau) I have him as a father*, *kitúnnimau (kitáunimau) you have him as a father*,

áunimiu *he has him as a father*; nitáüsimmau *I have him for a son-in-law*, áüsimmiu *he has him for a son-in-law*; kitáüskānim *I have you for a younger brother*, osótamaiüskanimokāiks *they (4 p.) then had him for a younger brother*. But if one wants to deny somebody's relationship to a person or thing, one usually has recourse to a different kind of negative verbal expressions, e.g.: nimátunnats *he is not my father*, kimátunnats *he is not your father*; nimátoksistaats *she is not my mother*, kimátoksistaats *she is not your mother*; nimátāxpapiixpats *he (she) is not my brother (sister)*; kimátakauats *he is not your partner*; amó nimátōyk *this is not my pail*. Another type of negative possessive is represented by kimátsikso-koamoypa *you are not my relation*.

When used interrogatively, the nominal predicate can take the endings of the interrogative conjugation, e.g. kitsápixpa *are you an old man* (cf. § 81).

The animate nouns have predicative obviatives with the verbal ending *inai* (-in) (cf. § 101). Examples:

omí āyké itámsokoytāsaininai, amóisk pokáiinai *then something suddenly cried from the water, this was a child*.

ótsikóāninai mǎiái *his robe was a yellow calf*.

ānistsiu omí om, akékoāninai *she said to her husband, that it was a girl*.

itsinóyua omim akékoāninai, áiokáiinai *he then saw, there was a girl sleeping*.

omí ninaiinai itsistsipoytoyuaie otoykémaniai *then there was another chief, with whose wife he ran away* (more literally: *there was another chief, he ran away with that one's — i.e. the other chief's — wife*).

itámsoksinoiyu, omík ākéinai *then he suddenly saw, there was a woman*.

ki itótapōtsiu, matápiinai *and then he brought the meat from a carcase, it was a person*.

ki itanistsiu omí misoypskiinai *and then he said to a musk-rat that there was* (more literally: *and then he said to one that there was, it was a musk-rat*).

itsinóyuaie omí ksiskstakin hē *then saw, there was a beaver*.

stámatoyto, ki omí apí'sin *then he went along again, and there was a coyote*.

anistsis kinna, anniskaie ksikúnistain *tell your father, there is a white buffalo-calf*.

omiksi mǎtakei itsinóyiau, omík einiínai *then other women saw, buffalo were coming that way*.

itsinitsiu omí ponokáiinai *he then killed there an elk* (more literally: *and then he killed one that there was, it was an elk*).

itsitskoypatskoyi(u), omík einiōtskināiinai *then he kicked into the prairie ground, there was a buffalo-horn*.

omík mistsisinai itótskitau *there was a log, he was left by it*.

itsinóyua, omim einiskiminai *she then saw, there was a buffalo-stone*.

Once in a while such forms occur even in the inanimate class, e.g.:



ánnimaie ūsi Okoáisai okóaiinai *that was the lodge of his son-in-law Belly-fat* (syntactically, okóaiinai *his lodge*, i.e. a certain chief's son-in-law's lodge, is a fifth person, though morphologically it is characterized as a fourth person).

A corresponding predicative obviative of the plural may possibly be recognized in the plural-forms in -i(i), examples of which have been given in § 11, for in most cases known to me a third person precedes. E.g.

omá akéu itotóykotaiixk, omiksi mátakei itsinóyiau omik einiinai *that woman went after wood, then other women saw, buffalo were coming that way.*

omiksim kipitákei itsipim he (i.e. Clot-of-blood, of whom is spoken in the preceding passage) *went in to those old women there.*

omistsiksi pokáiks xpitsaksiu, omiksim kšiskstak, anistsiu *then he went out with those children, there were some beavers, he said to them.*

ki itókiúaukskásataua, ki omiksima saǵkúmapii áistamaikaytsii *and then he (the Old Man) was run after by all the people, and then there were some boys playing arrow-sticking-game.*

ki ánnauk Nápiua itsitoto omiksima makúyii *and there the Old Man then came to some wolves.*

Though there are plenty of such clear cases, still there remain some passages in our texts that require a special explanation. No great trouble will cause us a sentence as: áisamo omí otákai itanistsinai omiksi mamiátsikimii *after a long while his partner said to those magpies there.* It is to be observed, however, that omí otákai is a fourth person, and omiksi mamiátsikimii, from a syntactical point of view, must be regarded as a fifth person. But I do not understand the use of nápikoāni (instead of nápikoāiks) in the following sentence: amóksi nápikoāni áutóiau omim nitsitunixpinan. *these whites came over into our agency.* Perhaps the Government, mentioned in a preceding sentence, is to be looked on as the chief third person, causing the choice of nápikoāni. But why áutóiau, and not áutóyi? Another passage that puzzles me a little: nisótamoǵtomaǵk nistamóa okóai, nisótamitoto, nitsitsitsip, nisótamitaupi, ki omiksaie matsaǵkúmapii stámitotoyi *then I ran along to my brother-in-law's tent, then I came there, then I entered, then I stayed there, and then some other boys came there.* The syllable mat- other expresses the idea *other than the speaker himself* (also a boy!). So the brother-in-law can not be considered as the chief third person.

Further investigations are needed, before we can arrive at conclusions that will satisfy us in every respect.

## CHAPTER V.

### Flexion of nouns (continued).

#### § 20. Initial changes.

In this paragraph we have to remind the reader of some initial changes, mentioned already in § 4, when giving a survey of the intermutational phenomena of Blackfoot. We shall have to add, however, some other initial changes, confined to nouns only, of non-intermutational character.

The initial changes in question, whether they are intermutational or not, take place in certain groups of nouns in case of prefixation or in composition with a preceding element of any kind. We have to distinguish the following cases:

10. Many nouns with an initial *a* (*α*) change that vowel into *o*, e.g. *apís rope* : *otópimi his rope*; *amíxkàtsis fish-pole* : *nitomíxkàtsis my fish-pole*; *aksín (standing) bed* : *nitòksín my (standing) bed*. There are also some words with initial *ma-* (*ma-*) that change their *a* (*α*) into *o*, after the *m-* has disappeared (cf. § 50.), e.g. *mamiu fish* : *kitomím your fish*, *ksíks-kiómiu white-fish*; *makúyi wolf* : *otókuyisina band of wolves*.

20. Some other nouns with an initial *a* (*α*) drop this vowel altogether, e.g. *asópàtsis seat* : *nisópàtsis my seat*; *asókaiis trunk* : *nisókaiis my trunk*; *ápssi arrow* : *nóxpssi my arrow*, *kóxpssi your arrow*, *óxpssi his arrow*; *átsètsi mitten* : *nótsètsi my mitten*, *ótsètsi his mitten*. Here ought to be mentioned some cases, where the initial syllable *ma-* (*ma-*) is substituted by prefixes of the series *n o -*, *k o -*, *o -* (cf. § 21): *mamín feather* : *omín his feather*; *mamápis old camp-ground* : *nomápis my old camp-ground*; *manátsis pin* : *núnnátsis my pin*, *kúnnátsis your pin*. There are, however, many words with an initial *a*, that retain it throughout the possessive flexion and in composition.

30. Many nouns with an initial *i* change this vowel into *o*, e.g. *iksisako meat* : *nitóksisakom my meat*, *komóksisako round piece of meat*; *imitá dog* : *otómitám his dog*, *ski'miðmita bitch*. The nomina instrumenti beginning with *i x t-* and ending in *-o p i* are treated in this way, e.g. *ixtáikaxksiststakiòpi saw* : *mátoxtaikaxksiststakiòpi another saw*. There are, however, several nouns with an initial *i*, that retain this vowel throughout the possessive flexion and in composition. If the prefixed element ends in *t*, then this *t* is assibilated before the initial *i* of the noun, e.g. *istsipísimátsis whip* : *nitsistsipísimátsis my whip*.

40. Nouns beginning with *n* lose this consonant, e.g. *nínáu man, chief* : *nitsinám my chief*; *nápi old man* : *kitsápi you are an old man* (but cf. below); *napím male animal* : *nitápím ótàs my male horse*; *nitsitápi Indian* :

nitsitsitapì *I am an Indian*, kanàitsitapì *all the Indians*; ninixkàsì *name* : kitsinixkàsì *your name*; nàipistsì *blanket* : sikapàipistsì *black blanket*; natàio *wild-cat* : ómaɣkatàio *mountain-lion*; namáɣkimàtsis *broom* : otsa-máɣkimàtsis *his broom*; napaiini *flour, bread* : mikskapaiini *biscuit*. There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule, as nàmau *gun* and nàmaii *bow*, which have a constant *n* : ninàmau *my gun*; kinàmaii *your bow*. Irregular are also the possessive forms of nàpi *old man* : ninàpim *my old man*, kinàpim *your old man*, unnàpim *his old man*.

50. Nouns beginning with *m* lose this consonant, e.g. manikàpi (*manikàpi*, *manikápi*) *unmarried young man* : áɣsanikàpi *good unmarried young man*; maistó *crow* : Mekiaisto *Red-crow* (a man's name); makúyi *wolf* : ómaɣkokuyi *big wolf*, otókuyisina *band of wolves*; maksiskum *spring (of water)* : nitoksiskum *my spring*, otoksiskum *his spring*; mamiu *fish* : nitomim *my fish*, kitomim *your fish*; matuyis : -otuyis *grass*; mistáki *mountain* : spisták *high mountain*, Ninaistako *Mountain-chief* (literally: *Chief-mountain*) (a man's name); mistsis *tree, stick* : ómaɣkaiistsis *big tree*, kitsistsim *your stick*; mokó : -oko *autumn*; motó : -oto *spring (of the year)*. But, as we have seen in § 4, in the greater part of the nouns losing an initial *m-* after a prefix or other compositional element this *m-* is to be considered as a pronominal prefix with the meaning "somebody's". Here belong most names of anatomical parts, and some other nouns denoting things which are generally thought of as inalienably "possessed" by somebody. In many cases we find the syllable *mo-* indicating indefinite possession, correlative with *no-* *my*, *ko-* *your*, *o-* *his*. Where the pronominal prefix is only *m-* (not *mo-*), it functions also as sign of the definite third person (see about the possessive prefixes § 21). Examples of this morphological loss of initial *m-*: maáuyi *mouth* : naáuyi *my mouth*, kaáuyi *your mouth*; matsinì *tongue* : natsinì *my tongue*, katsinì *your tongue*; matsikin *moccasin* : natsikin *my moccasin*; moɣkátsis *foot* : noɣkátsis *my foot*, oɣkátsis *his foot*; motsis *hand* : notsis *my hand*, otsis *his hand*; múskitsipaxpi *heart* : nús-kitsipaxpi *my heart*; moksís *awl* : noksís *my awl*; moɣsokó *trail* : noɣsokúì *my trail*; etc. Still there are some cases where the initial *m-* is constant, e.g. máukaiis *breast* : nomáukaiis *my breast*, komáukaiis *your breast*, omáukaiis *his breast*; mánistàmi *lodge-pole* : kimánistàmi (*kománistàmi*) *your lodge-pole*; miápinànists *eye-lashes* : nimiápinànists *my eye-lashes*.

60. In certain nouns other initial consonants than *n*, *m* disappear. An initial *k* is lost in kipitáke *old woman* : nipitám *my old woman*, kipitám *your old woman*, opitám *his old woman*, kipitáminuna *our (incl.) old woman*, nitápiiksipitáke *a really very old woman* (the *k* of *kipitám*, *kipitáminuna* is the sign of the possessor and not identical with the initial *k* of the word *kipitáke*). An initial *p* disappears in paytóki *pine-tree* : itaxtókasiu *he then turned into a pine-tree*. The syllable *po-* is lost in ponokáu *elk* : ónokàsina *a troop of elks* (the initial *o* is a prefix, and has nothing to do with the first vowel of *ponokáu*). In compounds as nitsínokakiàki *I trap an elk*, nitsínokauakimau *I chase an elk*, itánokāɣkumiu (*itánokāɣkumiu*) *he then yelled*

like an elk, Itsúinokāḡkumi *Elk-yells-in-the-water* (a woman's name) ponokáu is represented by -inok-. Against our expectation we find mátsi-ponokáuats *it is not an elk*. In the same way as ponokáu its compound ponokâmita *horse* is treated, cf. ônokâmitasin *a troop of horses* (the initial *o* is a prefix), asinokâmita *a young horse*, matsinokâmita *another horse*, mâtsinokâmitauatsiks *it is not a horse*. Another word with initial *po-* subject to a similar treatment is ponopâni *quiver with arrows* : ninopânistis *my arrows in the quiver*, únnopânistis *his arrows in the quiver*. A very peculiar case of inconstant *p* is pitséksina : -istseksina *snake* : ômaḡksistséksina *rattle-snake*. In some cases initial (*i*)*s-* disappears. Such are istoân *knife* : notoân *my knife*, kotoân *your knife*, otoân (otoânni) *his knife*; istsâmmokân *hat* : notsâmmokân (nitsâmmokân) *my hat*.

As we have stated in § 4, most of the changes mentioned above are not confined to nouns. In all classes of words initial *n* and *m* will disappear, when a prefix or another compositional element precedes. The vowel-changes will also be met with in other parts of the Blackfoot grammar.

#### § 21. Possessive prefixes.

In the first place we have to state that the possessive flexion of Blackfoot shows, in its prefixes as well as in its suffixes, a close relationship with the central and eastern dialects of the Algonquian stock. As in many linguistic families; the possessive flexion in Blackfoot and its sister-languages is partly akin to, though by no means identical with, the conjugation of the verb. As in other Algonquian dialects there are many nouns in Blackfoot that never occur without a possessive prefix. In Blackfoot most of them are terms of relationship, but still there are some others as nôtás *my beast* (used of any kind of domesticated quadrupeds) and nôḡk *my bucket* (the suppletive possessive of isk *bucket*). The names of parts of the body can be used without any possessive prefix of a definite person, but as most of them in their non-specialized-possessive form have the initial syllable *mo-*, or, at least, the initial consonant *m-*, we can safely assume that this *mo-* or *m-* is also a prefix, and that it serves to indicate the indefinite possessor. E.g. moḡkátsis *foot, leg* is properly *somebody's foot, somebody's leg*, in contradistinction to oḡkátsis *his foot, his leg*. It is, however, to be observed that *m-* has in certain cases the value of a definite possessive, e.g. maáuui *mouth (somebody's mouth)* is also used for *his mouth*.

In Blackfoot, as everywhere in Algonquian, the possessive noun-forms are not exclusively characterized by prefixes, but in the forms with a plural possessor additional suffixes are made use of. By means of these suffixes, which will be treated in the next paragraph, it is possible to distinguish the plural of the possessor from the singular, and the inclusive first person of the plural from the second person of the plural. As in other dialects of the same stock the prefix of the second person serves also to indicate the inclusive first person of the plural. For those readers to whom the terms *inclusive* and *exclusive* are not familiar, it will be useful to state, that the

inclusive form includes the person or persons spoken to with the speaker or speakers, whereas the exclusive excludes the person or persons spoken to.

I give first a general synopsis of the possessive prefixes and their functions.

First pers. sing. and excl. first pers. plur.: *ni-*, *nit-*, *nits-*, *n-*, *no-*.

Second pers. sing., second pers. plur., and incl. first pers. plur.: *ki-*, *kit-*, *kits-*, *k-*, *ko-*.

Third pers. sing. and third pers. plur.: *o-*, *ot-*, *ots-*, *m-*.

Indefinite: *mo-*.

The forms *nits-*, *kits-*, *ots-* have originated from *nit-*, *kit-*, *ot-* before an initial *i*, but sometimes they have transgressed their proper domain, so that nowadays they are occasionally found where *nit-*, *kit-*, *ot-* might have been expected.

The normal anteconsonantic forms of *nit-*, *kit-*, *ot-* are *nitoχ-*, *kitoχ-*, *otoχ-*, but it goes without saying that these occur only before consonants that remain throughout the possessive flexion.

Correlative groups are *ni- : ki- : o-*, *nit- : kit-*, *ot-* (*nits- : kits- : ots-*, *nitoχ- : kitoχ-*, *otoχ-*), *n- : k- : m-*, *no- : ko- : o-* : *mo-*. Instead of *no- : ko- : o- : mo-* we find in certain cases *nu- : ku- : u- : mu-*. The prefix *o-* takes also the form *u-* in some nouns, which have *ni-* and *ki-* as prefixes of the first and second persons.

The series *ni- : ki- : o-* is found only before constant consonants, whereas *nit- : kit- : ot-* are prefixed to nouns with an initial vowel (before which an *n* or *m* may have disappeared) as well as to nouns with constant initial consonants. The group *n- : k- : m-* is found only before nouns with an initial vowel. The series *no- : ko- : o- : mo-* chiefly belongs to the comprehensive class of body-part-names and such nouns as are treated in the same way as the names of anatomical parts.

Examples of the series *ni- : ki- : o-* (*u-*): *ninna my father*, *únni his father*; *niksista my mother*, *oksistsi his mother*; *ni'sa my elder brother*, *ú'si (ó'si) his elder brother*; *niskáni my younger brother*, *uskáni his younger brother*; *nin(i)sta my elder sister*, *ún(i)stsi his elder sister*; *nisisa my younger brother or sister* (a woman speaking), *kisisa your younger brother or sister* (speaking to a woman), *oxsisi her younger brother or sister*; *nísa my son-in-law*, *kísa your son-in-law*, *úsi his son-in-law*; *nímsa my daughter-in-law*, *ómsi his daughter-in-law*; *nístamóa my brother-in-law*, *ostamói (ustamói) his brother-in-law*; *níksòkoa my relation*, *óksòkoi (óksòkoai) his relation*; *námau gun : ninámau my gun*, *kinámau your gun*, *onámajii his gun*; *sekáni bed : nisekáni my bed*; *páksàtsis stone-hammer : nipáksàtsis my stone-hammer*, *opáksàtsis his stone-hammer*; *piskáni corral : nipiskáni my corral*, *opiskáni his corral*; *pápáukani dream : nípápáukani my dream*, *ópapáukani his dream*; *mánistàmi lodge-pole : nimánistàmi (nománistàmi) my lodge-pole*, *ománistàmi his lodge-pole*; *nápi old man : ninápim my old man*, *unnápim his old man*; *asópàtsis seat : nisó-*

pàtsis *my seat*; asókaiis *trunk* : nisókaiis *my trunk*; (a)sókàsimi *dress* : nisókàsimi *my dress*; kipitàke *old woman* : nipitàm *my old woman*, kipitàm *your old woman*, opitàm *his old woman*.

Examples of the series nit(s) - : kit(s) - : ot(s) - : nitánna *my daughter*, otánni *his daughter*; nitožkèman *my wife*, otožkèman *his wife*; nitákàu *my partner*, otákài *his partner*; àké *woman* : nitàkem *my sister*, kitàkem *your sister*, ótàkem *his sister* (properly: *woman belonging to me, you, him*); tsikatsi *grasshopper* : nitožtsikatsimiks *my grasshoppers*; asètsiksim *cottonwood-tree* : nitsàsètsiksim *my cottonwood-tree*; aksin (*standing*) *bed* : nitòksin *my (standing) bed*, otòksin *his (standing) bed*; imitá *dog* : nitómitàm *my dog*, otómitàm *his dog*; mamíu *fish* : nitomím *my fish*, otomím *his fish*; ninau *chief* : nitsinaim *my chief*, kitsinaim *your chief*, otsinaim *his chief*; ikiàtsis *whistle* : nitsikiàtsis *my whistle*; ninixkàsím *name* : nitsinixkàsím *my name*, otsinixkàsím *his name*; mistoan *beard* : nitsistoan *my beard*, otsistoan *his beard*; namážkimàtsis *broom* : nitsamážkimàtsis *my broom*, kitsamážkinàtsis *your broom*.

Examples of the series n - : k - : m - : maáuyl *mouth* : naáuyl *my mouth*, kaáuyl *your mouth*, maáuyl *his mouth*; matsiní *tongue* : natsiní *my tongue*, katsiní *your tongue*, matsiní *his tongue*; maiái (maiáiu) *robe* : naiáiu *my robe*, kaiáiu *your robe*, maiái(i) *his robe*; matsikin (atsikin) *moccasin* : natsikin *my moccasin*, katsikin *your moccasin*, matsikin *his moccasin*; matsíks (atsíks) *leggings* : natsíks *my leggings*, katsíks *your leggings*, matsíks *his leggings*. Here belongs also the relationship-term naáχsa *my grand-parent, my parent-in-law*, kaáχsa *your grand-parent, your parent-in-law*, maáχsi *his grand-parent, his parent-in-law*, of which no absolute form occurs. We find n -, k - also in nóma *my husband*, kóma *your husband*, but the form of the third person is ómi *her husband*. Perhaps ópi *brains* : nópi *my brains*, kópi *your brains*, ópi *his brains*, and ožkín *bone* : nožkín *my bone*, kožkín *your bone*, ožkín *his bone* are similar cases. Prefixes n -, k - are also found in itsuan *gambling-wheel* : nitsuan *my gambling-wheel*, kitsuan *your gambling-wheel* (otsuan *his gambling-wheel* is irregular).

Examples of the series n o - : k o - : o - (respectively m o - : n o - : k o - : o -) : nožkóa *my son*, kožkóa *your son*, ožkói *his son*; nókós *my child*, kókós *your child*, okós *his child*; nótás *my beast*, kótás *your beast*, ótás *his beast*; nóžk *my pail*, kóžk *your pail*, ožk *his pail* (: isk *pail*); nokóa *my lodge*, kokóa *your lodge*, okóai *his lodge* (regularly used as suppletive possessive forms of moyis *lodge*); nomísau *my wood*, komísau *your wood*, omísaii *his wood*; pún *bracelet* : nožpún *my bracelet*, ožpún *his bracelet*; áppsi *arrow* : nóžppi *my arrow*, ožppi *his arrow*; átsètsi *mitten* : nòtsètsi *my mitten*, ótsètsi *his mitten*; máukaiis *breast* : nomáukaiis *my breast*, omáu-kaiis *his breast*; istsámmokân *hat* : notsámmokân *my hat*, otsámmokân *his hat*; istoän *knife* : notoän (notoänna) *my knife*, otoän (otoänni) *his knife*; motokâni *head* : notokâni *my head*, kotokâni *your head*, otokâni *his head*; možtókis *ear* : nožtókis *my ear*, ožtókis *his ear*; moápsspi *eye* : noápsspa *my eye*, oápsspi *his eye*; možksisis *nose* : nožksisis *my nose*, ožksisis *his nose*;

mópëkinanists *nostrils* : nópëkinanists *my nostrils*; motstsipina *cheek* : notstsipina *my cheek*, otstsipina *his cheek*; moẏpskinau *jaw* : noẏpskinau *my jaw*, oẏpskina *his jaw*; moẏkokini *neck* : noẏkokini *my neck*; motsikis *shoulder* : notsikis *my shoulder*; mokakini *back* : nokakini *my back*; mokëkin *chest* : nokëkin *my chest*; müskitsipaẏpi *heart* : nüskitsipaẏpi *my heart*, úskitsipaẏpi *his heart*; motsis *hand* : notsis *my hand*; mokitsis *finger* : nokitsis *my finger*; mókoan *belly* : nókoan *my belly*; moẏkátsis *leg, foot* : noẏkátsis *my leg, my foot*; moẏsokó (moẏsokúí) *trail, road* : noẏsokúí *my trail*, oẏsokúí *his trail*; moksís *awl* : noksis *my awl*; manátsis *pin* : núnnaťsis *my pin*, kúnnaťsis *your pin* (notice the irregularity in the indefinite form); manistsí *travoy* : nunistsí *my travoy*, unistsí *his travoy* (a similar case as the preceding one). As I have said above, most names of anatomical parts belong to this class.

## § 22. Possessive suffixes.

The suffixes, which are to be treated here and which are confined to the plural of the possessor, serve to complete the possessive notion, imperfectly suggested already by the prefixes. Similar additional suffixes, partly identical with those of the possessive flexion, are used also in the conjugation (cf. § 94), in Blackfoot as well as in other dialects of the Algonquian family. It also may be observed, that there exists a close relationship between the possessive suffixes of Blackfoot and those of its central and eastern sister-languages. As the Blackfoot prefixes too are nearly identical with the prefixes in Ojibway, Cree, etcet., and as there is a perfect analogy in the simultaneous use of prefixes and suffixes in the possessive noun-forms with a plural possessor, there can not be any doubt, that the possessive flexion of Blackfoot has sprung from the same original paradigm as the corresponding forms of other Algonquian languages.

The Blackfoot possessive suffixes are:

Excl. first pers. plur.: -(i) n a n (a) (in combination with the prefix of the first pers. sing.).

Incl. first pers. plur.: -(i) n u n (a) (in combination with the prefix of the second pers. sing.).

Second pers. plur.: -o a u (a) (in combination with the prefix of the second pers. sing.).

Third pers. plur.: -o a u a i (-a u a i, -o a i, -o a i a u) (in combination with the prefix of the third pers. sing.).

Nouns provided with possessive prefixes and suffixes are pluralized in the ordinary way by means of the suffix *-iks* for the animate gender, and of the suffix *-ists* for the inanimate gender. For the way the suffixes combine see the paradigms in § 24.

Examples of the suffix -(i) n a n (a): ninnàn(a) *our (excl.) father* : ninna *my father*; niksistanàn(a) *our (excl.) mother* : niksista *my mother*; nókósínàn(a) *our (excl.) child* : nókós *my child*; noẏkúnàn(a) *our (excl.) son* : noẏkóa *my son*; nitánnàn(a) *our (excl.) daughter* : nitánna *my*

daughter; ní'sinàn(a) our (excl.) elder brother : ní'sa my elder brother; nískánàn(a) our (excl.) younger brother; nískáni my younger brother; nín(i)stanàn(a) our (excl.) elder sister : nín(i)sta my elder sister; nisisinàn(a) our (excl.) younger brother or sister (a woman speaking) : nisisa my younger brother or sister (a woman speaking); nóminàn(a) our (excl.) husband : nóma my husband; nitožkèmanàn(a) our (excl.) wife : nitožkèman my wife; naāžsinàn(a) our (excl.) grand-parent or parent-in-law : naāžsa my grand-parent or parent-in-law; nísinàn(a), nísanàn(a) our (excl.) son-in-law : nísá my son-in-law; nímzinàn(a) our (excl.) daughter-in-law : nímza my daughter-in-law; nipitāminàn(a) our (excl.) old woman : nipitām my old woman : kipitāke old woman; nitsinaiminàn(a) our (excl.) chief : nitsinaim my chief : ninau chief; nótāsinàn(a) our (excl.) beast : nótās my beast; nóžkinàn(a) our (excl.) pail : nóžk my pail; nitsistsiminàn(a) our (excl.) stick : nitsistsim my stick : mistsis stick; nokúnàn(a) our (excl.) lodge : nokóá my lodge; nisópātsinàn(a) our (excl.) seat : nisópātsis my seat : asópātsis seat; nisókaiinàn(a) our (excl.) trunk : nisókaiis my trunk : asókaiis trunk.

Examples of the suffix -(i) n u n (a): kinnùn(a) our (incl.) father : kinna your father; kiksistanùn(a) our (incl.) mother : kiksista your mother; kókósinùn(a) our (incl.) child : kókós your child; kožkúnùn(a) our (incl.) son : kožkóá your son; kitánnūna our (incl.) daughter : kitánna your daughter; ki'sinùn(a) our (incl.) elder brother : ki'sa your elder brother; kiškánùn(a) our (incl.) younger brother : kiskáni your younger brother; kin(i)stanùn(a) our (incl.) elder sister : kin(i)sta your elder sister; kisisinùn(a) our (incl.) younger brother or sister (a woman speaking) : kisisa your younger brother or sister (a woman spoken to); kóminùn(a) our (incl.) husband : kóma your husband; kitožkèmanùn(a) our (incl.) wife : kitožkèman your wife; kaāžsinùn(a) our (incl.) grand-parent or parent-in-law : kaāžsa your grand-parent or parent-in-law; kisinùn(a), kisanùn(a) our (incl.) son-in-law : kisa your son-in-law; kimsinùn(a) our (incl.) daughter-in-law : kimsa your daughter-in-law; kipitāminùn(a) our (incl.) old woman : kipitām your old woman : kipitāke old woman; kitsinaiminùn(a) our (incl.) chief : kitsinaim your chief : ninau chief; kótāsinùn(a) our (incl.) beast : kótās your beast; kóžkinùn(a) our (incl.) pail : kóžk your pail; kitsistsiminùn(a) our (incl.) stick : kitsistsim your stick : mistsis stick; kokúnùn(a) our (incl.) lodge : kokóá your lodge; kisópātsinùn(a) our (incl.) seat : kisópātsis your seat : asópātsis seat; kisókaiinùn(a) our (incl.) trunk : kisókaiis your trunk : asókaiis trunk.

Examples of the suffix -o a u (a): kinnoàu(a) your (plur.) father : kinna your father; kiksistoàu(a) your (plur.) mother : kiksista your mother; kókósoàu(a) your (plur.) child : kókós your child; kožkóàu(a) your (plur.) son : kožkóá your son; kitánnoàu(a) your (plur.) daughter : kitánna your daughter; ki'soàu(a) your (plur.) elder brother : ki'sa your elder brother; kiskáuàu(a) your (plur.) younger brother : kiskáni your younger brother; kin(i)stoàu(a) your (plur.) elder sister : kin(i)sta your elder sister; kisi-



soàu(a) *your (plur.) younger brother or sister (women spoken to)* : kisisa *your younger brother or sister (a woman spoken to)*; kômoàu(a) *your (plur.) husband* : kôma *your husband*; kitožkêmoàu(a) *your (plur.) wife* : kitožkêman *your wife*; kaâžsoàu(a) *your (plur.) grand-parent or parent-in-law* : kaâžsa *your grand-parent or parent-in-law*; kisoàu(a) *your (plur.) son-in-law* : kisa *your son-in-law*; kimsoàu(a) *your (plur.) daughter-in-law* : kimsa *your daughter-in-law*; kistamóau(a) *your (plur.) brother-in-law* : kistamó *your brother-in-law*; kipitámoàu(a) *your (plur.) old woman* : kipitám *your old woman* : kipitáke *old woman*; kitsinaimoàu(a) *your (plur.) chief* : kitsinaim *your chief* : ninau *chief*; kótásoau(a) *your (plur.) beast* : kótás *your beast*; kôžkòau(a) *your (plur.) pail* : kôžk *your pail*; kitsistsimoàu(a) *your (plur.) stick* : kitsistsim *your stick* : mistsis *stick*; kokóau(a), kokóauàu(a) *your (plur.) lodge* : kokóá *your lodge*.

Examples of the suffix *-oauai* (*-oai*, *-oai*): únnoàuai *their father* : únni *his father*; oksistoàuai, oksistoai *their mother* : oksistsi *his mother*; ókósoàuai *their child* : ókós *his child*; ožkóauai *their son* : ožkói *his son*; otánnoàuai *their daughter* : otánni *his daughter*, ú'soauai *their elder brother* : ú'si *his elder brother*; uskáuai *their younger brother* : uskáni *his younger brother*; ún(i)stoàuai *their elder sister* : ún(i)stsi *his elder sister*; ožsisoàuai, ožsisoai *their younger brother or sister (women spoken of)* : ožsisi *her younger brother or sister*; ómoàuai *their husband* : ómi *her husband*; otožkêmoàuai *their wife* : otožkêman *his wife*; maâžsoàuai *their grand-parent or parent-in-law* : maâžsi *his grand-parent or parent-in-law*; úsoàuai, úsoai *their son-in-law* : úsi *his son-in-law*; ómsoàuai *their daughter-in-law* : ómsi *his daughter-in-law*; oštamóauai *their brother-in-law* : oštamói *his brother-in-law*; opitámoàuai *their old woman* : opitám *his old woman* : kipitáke *old woman*; otsinaimoàuai, otsinaimoai, otsinaimoai *their chief* : otsinaim *his chief* : ninau *chief*; ótásoàuai *their beast* : ótás *his beast*; óžkòauai *their pail* : óžk *his pail*; ošsistsimoàuai *their stick* : ošsistsim *his stick* : mistsis *stick*; okóauai *their lodge* : okóai *his lodge*.

Before the possessive suffixes many stems in *-n(i)* and *-is* are shortened, as will be seen from the material in this paragraph, though I am not able as yet to give accurate rules. Take, for example, the sentence: ošsáists kážksinixp, ožkátoais mǎtsikazksinixp *their hands were cut off, their feet were also cut off*. The forms ošsáists, ožkátoais are the regular plurals of ošsái (ošsáuai), ožkátoai (ožkátoauai), singulars not likely to occur in the language, and belong to motsis *hand*, možkátsis *foot*. The *t* instead of *ts* in ožkátoais is quite regular, because it is not followed by *i*, which causes a preceding *t* to be assimilated to *ts*. On the contrary, the *ts* of ošsáists must be due to analogy. Forms as kiskáuau(a), kitožkêmoàu(a) and uskáuai, otožkêmoàuai may illustrate the treatment of stems in *-an(i)* and *-an(i)*, cf. kiskáni *your younger brother*, kitožkêman *your wife*, and uskáni *his younger brother* and otožkêman *his wife*.

§ 23. The suffix - m (i).

In the possessive flexion often a suffix - m (i) is used to emphasize the idea of alienable ownership. It precedes the possessive suffixes treated in § 22. This suffix - m (i) corresponds to the suffix -m of other Algonquian languages, which has the same or nearly the same value. It is difficult to give a rule about the cases, in which - m (i) is to be attached to the word-stem. As it is a sign of alienable possession, we understand very well that it is never suffixed to the names of the parts of the body, when thought of in connection with the human or animal body they belong to, nor to any term of relationship. The forms *nitākem my sister*, *kitākem your sister*, etcet., belonging to *āké woman*, are no exception to this rule, since *āké* is no real relationship-term. The same may be said about cases as *nināpim my old man*, *nitsitapimiks my folks*, mentioned below. It seems that the suffix - m (i) is much more common in the possessive forms of animate nouns than in those of the inanimate group.

Examples: *nitāiksīnim my swine*, *kitāiksīnim your swine*, *otāiksīnim his swine*, *nitāiksīnimihāna our (excl.) swine*, *kitāiksīniminūna our (incl.) swine*, *kitāiksīnimoāu(a) your (pl.) swine*, *otāiksīnimoāuai their swine* : *āiksini swine*; *nitōmitām my dog*, *kitōmitām your dog*, *otōmitām his dog* : *imitā dog*; *nitōmaḡkstokim my mule*, *otōmaḡkstokim his mule* : *ōmaḡkstōki mule*; *nitāatsistam my rabbit*, *kitāatsistam your rabbit* : *āatsista rabbit*; *nitāpotskinam my cow*, *otāpotskinam his cow* : *āpotskina cow*; *nitomīm my fish*, *otomīm his fish* : *mamiu fish*; *nināpim my old man*, *kināpim your old man*, *unnāpim his old man* : *nāpi old man*; *nitsinaim my chief*, *kitsinaim your chief*, *otsinaim his chief*, *otsinaimoāuai their chief* : *ninau chief*; *nitsitapimiks my folks*, *kitsitapimoaiks your folks* : *matāpi person*; *nitōḡkāksākinim my axe*, *otōḡkāksākinim his axe* : *kāksākin axe (animate!)*; *nitōksisakom my meat*, *otōksisakom his meat* : *iksisako meat (inanimate)*.

In some words a final s is lost before this suffix, e.g. *nitōpim my rope*, *kitōpim your rope*, *otōpim his rope* : *apīs rope*; *nitsistsim my stick*, *kitsistsim your stick*, *otsistsim his stick* : *mistsis stick*. There occur other irregularities, as *nipitām my old woman*, *kipitām your old woman*, *opitām his old woman*, *kipitāminūna our (incl.) old woman* : *kipitāke old woman* (but the simplex *āké woman* is treated in the ordinary way).

It is said, that by the side of the forms in - m (i) there are also forms in - m a i, which are used in answering a question. In the plural the same distinction is said to be made between the endings - m i k s and - m a i k s. I regret, that I am not able either to confirm or to deny these statements.

§ 24. Possessive paradigms.

For the animate class I have chosen *nisis(a) my younger brother or sister* (in relation to a woman), *naāḡs(a) my grand-parent* (also *my parent-in-law*), *niskāni my younger brother*, *nókós my child*, *nitsinaim my chief* (*ninau chief*), *nitōmitām my dog* (*imitā dog*); for the inanimate class I

give the possessive forms of *nokóa my lodge*, *nóẏpssi my arrow* (*ápssi arrow*), *notokân my head, my hair* (*motokân head, hair*), *notsis my hand* (*motsis hand*), *ninâmai my bow* (*nâmai bow*), *nitsistsim my stick* (*mistsis stick*). Obviatives of the first and the second persons are omitted here, because one can find all about them in § 15. As without further investigations among the Blackfoot tribes it would scarcely be possible to give complete paradigms with all the variants existing, I have confined myself to the standard forms

### Animafe.

#### *Singular of the noun.*

1 sing.	nisis(a)	naâẏs(a)
2 ..	kisis(a)	kaâẏs(a)
3 ..	oẏsis(i)	maâẏs(i)
1 pl. excl.	nisisinân(â)	naâẏsinân(a)
1 .. incl.	kisisinûn(a)	kaâẏsinûn(a)
2 ..	kisisoâu(a)	kaâẏsoau(a)
3 ..	oẏsisoâuai	maâẏsoâuai

#### *Plural of the noun.*

1 sing.	nisisiks	naâẏsiks
2 ..	kisisiks	kaâẏsiks
3 ..	oẏsisiks	maâẏsiks
1 pl. excl.	nisisinâniks	naâẏsinâniks
1 .. incl.	kisisinûniks	kaâẏsinûniks
2 ..	kĩĩsisoâuiks	kaâẏsoâuiks
3 ..	oẏsisoâuauks	maâẏsoâuauks

#### *Singular of the noun.*

1 sing.	niskáni	nókós
2 ..	kiskáni	kókós
3 ..	uskáni	ókós
1 pl. excl.	niskánân(a)	nókósinân(a)
1 .. incl.	kiskánûn(a)	kókósinûn(a)
2 ..	kiskáuau(a)	kókósoâu(a)
3 ..	uskáuai	ókósoâuai

#### *Plural of the noun.*

1 sing.	niskáiks	nókósiks
2 ..	kiskáiks	kókósiks
3 ..	uskáiks	ókósiks
1 pl. excl.	niskánâniks	nókósinâniks
1 .. incl.	kiskánûniks	kókósinûniks
2 ..	kiskáuauiks	kókósoâuiks
3 ..	uskáuauks	ókósoâuauks

*Singular of the noun.*

1 sing.	nitsínaim	nitómitàm
2 "	kitsínaim	kitómitàm
3 "	otsínaim	otómitàm
1 pl. excl.	nitsínaiminàn(a)	nitómjtàminàn(a)
1 " incl.	kitsínaiminùn(a)	kitómitàminùn(a)
2 "	kitsínaimoàù(a)	kitómitàmoàù(a)
3 "	otsínaimoàuai	otómitàmoàuai

*Plural of the noun.*

1 sing.	nitsínaimiks	nitómitàmiks
2 "	kitsínaimiks	kitómitàmiks
3 "	otsínaimiks	otómitàmiks
1 pl. excl.	nitsínaiminàniks	nitómitàminàniks
1 " incl.	kitsínaiminùniks	kitómitàminùniks
2 "	kitsínaimoàuiks	kitómitàmoauiks
3 "	otsínaimoàuaiks	otómitàmoàuaiks

*Inanimate.**Singular of the noun.*

1 sing.	nokóa	nóɣpssi
2 "	kokóa	kóɣpssi
3 "	okóai	óɣpssi
1 pl. excl.	nokúnàn(a)	nóɣpssinàn(a)
1 " incl.	kokúnùn(a)	kóɣpssinùn(a)
2 "	kokóauàù(a) (kokóau)	kóɣpssóau(a)
3 "	okóauai	óɣpssóauai

*Plural of the noun.*

1 sing.	nokóajsts	nóɣpssists
2 "	kokóajsts	kóɣpssists
3 "	okóajsts	óɣpssists
1 pl. excl.	nokúnànists	nóɣpssinànists
1 " incl.	kokúnùnists	kóɣpssinùnists
2 "	kokóauaists	kóɣpssóaists
3 "	okóauaists	óɣpssóauaists (óɣpssóaists)

*Singular of the noun.*

1 sing.	notokān	notsis
2 "	kotokān	kotsis
3 "	otokān	otsis
1 pl. excl.	notokāninàn(a)	notsinān(a)
1 " incl.	kotokāninùn(a)	kotsinùn(a)
2 "	kotokānoàù(a)	kotsóau(a)
3 "	otokānoàuai	otsóauai

*Plural of the noun*

1 sing.	notokânists	notsists
2 ..	kotokânists	kotsists
3 ..	otokânists	otsists
1 pl. excl.	notokâninânists	notsinânists
1 .. incl.	kotokâninûnists	kotsinûnists
2 ..	kotokânoaists	kotsôaists
3 ..	otokânoâuaists	otsôaists

*Singular of the noun*

1 sing.	ninâmaïi	nitsistsim
2 ..	kinâmaïi	kitsistsim
3 ..	onâmaïi	otsistsim
1 pl. excl.	ninâmailnân(a)	nitsistsiminân(a)
1 .. incl.	kinâmaiinûn(a)	kitsistsiminûn(a)
2 ..	kinâmaioâu(a)	kitsistsimoâu(a)
3 ..	onâmaioâuai	otsistsimoâuai

*Plural of the noun.*

1 sing.	niñâmaists	nitsistsimists
2 ..	kinâmaists	kitsistsimists
3 ..	onâmaists	otsistsimists
1 pl. excl.	ninâmaiinânists	nitsistsiminânists
1 .. incl.	kinâmaiinûnists	kitsistsiminûnists
2 ..	kinâmaioaists	kitsistsimoaists
3 ..	onâmaioâuaists	otsistsimoâuaists

## CHAPTER VI.

### Adjectives.

#### § 25. Independent attributive adjectives.

Adjectives, when used attributively, are ordinarily attached to the noun as inseparable prefixes (see § 26). Still there are independent attributive adjectives in common use, such as *âksi* *good*, *nâpistsi* *blind*, and the localizers in *-tsi* and *-oχtsi* (see § 120). They may precede or follow the noun they qualify, e.g. *âksiks nôtâsinâniks* *our good horses*, *âksiists iksisakuists* *good meat(s)*, *minoχko(χ)tsiks okitsiks* *her fingers' ends* (literally: *her extreme fingers*), *ponokâmitaiks âksiks* *the good horses*. It seems that postponing the adjective emphasizes it.

Peculiar attributive forms of the inanimate gender are such as *immîim* (: *immîu*) *deep*, *spiîm* (: *spiîu*) *high*. I find in my notes: *amó immîim niétaxtai matsípîo* *this deep river is not far*; *amó spiîm nitóyis nitsitâixtsiu* *this high tipi stands alone*; *amó spiîm mistáki otsátstsiu* *this high mountain is near*.

In the singular the true independent adjectives have no special forms for the animate and the inanimate gender; in the plural, however, they distinguish the genders by means of the endings *-iks* and *-ists* (see § 11). E.g. *âksi* will be used of an animate being or thing as well as of an inanimate thing, whereas in the plural the use of *âksiks* is confined to animates, and *âksists* to inanimates.

In certain cases, however, we find animate and inanimate forms by the side of each other (e.g. *sokâpsi* *an.* and *sokâpi* *in.* *good*), but then we have to do with attributively used adjective-verbs (see § 27), not with true attributive adjectives. At the end of the general remarks on the formation of nouns (§ 6) I have said, that any form of the *verbum finitum*, transitive or intransitive, occasionally may be used as a noun. As in Black-foot morphology there is no sharp dividing-line between nouns and attributive adjectives, we are authorized to say also, that any intransitive verbal form occasionally may function as an attributive adjective, without being exactly on a level with the true attributive adjectives. Examples: *sokâpsi nînau* *a good man* : *nînau sokâpsiu* *the man is good*; *sokâpi moχso-kûi* *a good road* : *moχsokûi sokâpiu* *the road is good*. Or: *makâpsi ponokâmita* *a bad horse* : *omâ ponokâmitâu makâpsiu* *that horse is bad*; *makâpi napaiîinsimman* *bad wheat* : *amóia napaiîinsimman makâpiu* *this wheat is bad*. But I must repeat here that the more idiomatic construction is prefixation of the undifferentiated short adjective-stem to the noun. So

sokápinau sokápoysokui, makápinokâmita, makápapaininsimman are better Blackfoot than sokápsi ninau, sokápi moysokui, makápsi ponokâmita, makápi napaininsimman which are principally used by young people.

## § 26 Prefixed adjectives.

After what has been said in the preceding paragraph, I have only to give an alphabetical list of prefixed adjectives and to illustrate the way they are attached to noun-stems by some examples. It goes without saying that my list is by no means complete, for any adjective-stem, undifferentiated as to gender and number, may serve as a prefix. We shall see afterwards (§ 117) that such prefixes are also compounded with verbal stems, in which case they have the semantic value of adverbs of manner, but here we are concerned only with adjective-noun-compounds.

a *ys* - good, e.g. áysanikapí good unmarried young man (: *mánikapí unmarried young man*); Áysápi the Good Old Man (: *nápi old man*); áysitapi good person, good people (: *matápi person, people*).

a *nut* - pretty, e.g. anátsistseksina pretty snake (: *pitséksina snake*).

a *p* - white, e.g. apáipistsi white blanket (: *náipistsi blanket*); ápski white-faced horse (: *-ski face*); ápskotok white stone (cf. óžkotóki stone). In composition with names of animals we usually find *api-* (*apy-*): apikétoki white prairie-chicken (: *kótóki prairie-chicken*); apiáiksini white pig (: *áiksini pig*); apyómita white dog (: *imitá dog*).

a *s* - young, small, e.g. asitápi young person (: *matápi person*); asážkinau young married man (: *sážkinau married man*); asinokâmita young horse (: *ponokâmita horse*); asómažkstóki young mule (: *ómažkstóki mule*); asóžkyáio young bear (: *kyáio bear*); ásažtóki young (small) pine-tree (: *pažtóki pine-tree*); asétsiksim cottonwood-tree (cf. *-ksim*, suffix of animate tree-names); asétážtai creek (: *niétážtai river*); asóžk small pail (: *-ožk pail*).

u *kai* - former, ancient, e.g. ákaitápi the ancient people (: *matápi person, people*); ákai-Pekáni the ancient Peigan tribe (: *Pekáni the Peigan tribe*); ákaiómi her former husband (: *ómi her husband*); ákaipiskini old corraling place (: *piskisini corraling*). The same element plays a part in the conjugation (see § 90).

i *kak* - low, e.g. Ikaótsinâke Short-Gros-ventre-woman (a woman's name) (: *Atsinâke Gros-ventre woman*); I'kakskina Low-horn (a man's name) (cf. *otskinau horn*).

i *kin* - soft, e.g. ikináuksisakò soft meat, tender meat (: *iksisakò meat*); cf. also iiksikinážkò it is very soft earth, the earth is very soft (: cf. *ksážkò earth*).

i *m m o i* - (*imoi* -) hairy, e.g. Immoyiski Hairy-face (a woman's name) (: *-ski face*); Immoyisokâšimi Hairy-coat (a man's name) (: *sókâšimi shirt, coat*); Immoyistamik Hairy-bull (a man's name) (: *stámik bull*); immoyi-štsammokân fur-hat (: *istsammokân hat*); imoištsis fir (hairy tree)

(: mistsis tree); cf. also imoióyiu *he has a moustache* (he has a hairy mouth) (: maáuyi mouth).

in ak - *little, small*, e.g. inakáatsista *small rabbit* (: áatsista rabbit); inakáiksini *small pig* (: áiksini pig); inakáinakási *wheel-barrow* (small waggon) (: áinakási waggon); inakánaukotakoxsin *quarter of an hour* (small half hour) (: ánukotakoxsin half an hour); inakanauksi *quarter of a dollar* (small half) (: anáuksi half a dollar); inákokitsis *little finger* (: mokitsis finger); inákožkàksàkin *small axe* (: kàksàkin axe); inaksinama *pistol* (small gun) (: námau gun); inaksípoka *little child* (: pokáu child); inaksistoän *small knife* (: istoän knife).

in o - (in u i -) *long*, e.g. inóistoän *long knife, sword* (: istoän knife); inokinakim *he has long legs* (: -kinaki- leg); inokinistsiu *he has long arms* (: -kinists- arm); inüiskinètsimàni *long bag* (: skinètsimàni bag). Cf. also in- before o: inòäsi *long mane* (: òäs mane); inópis *long rope* (: apís, -opís rope).

is ok - (is ok u i -) *heavy*, e.g. Isoksinama *Heavy-gun* (a man's name) (: námau gun); isokuiáuotàni *heavy shield* (: áuotàni shield); Isokuiomaykàni *Heavy-runner* (: ómaykàni running).

kim mat - *to be pitied, poor*, e.g. kimmatsisoykèman *poor second wife* (: isoykèman second wife, youngest wife); -kimmatski- (-kimatski-) in nitáikimatskiöpiu *they are all sitting with pitiful faces* (: -ski face). Also kimmatap- : kimmatapsaykúmapi *poor boy* (: saykúmapi boy).

kin ak - *little, small*, e.g. Kinaksikatoyis *Small Sweetgrass hills* (: Katoyisiks *Small Sweetgrass hills*); Kináksisaytai *Milk river* (literally: *Little creek*) (: -sisaytai creek); Kináksàpöp *Little-plume* (a man's name) (: sàpöp plume). It only occurs in local and personal names.

ks ik - *white*, e.g. -ksikaukuyi- *white buffalo-calf* in nitsitsiksikaukòyisiu *he had turned into a white buffalo-calf and lay on top* (: -koyi calf); Ksikáuotàni *White-shield* (a woman's name) (: áuotàni shield); ksikixkimiko *white earth* (: -ixkimmiko earth); ksikixkini *white-headed eagle* (: -ixkini head); ksikómaykaii *white swan* (: imaykaii swan); ksiksisókaiis *white trunk* (: asókaiis trunk); ksikskiömiu *white-fish* (literally: *white-faced fish*) (: ~~ksik~~ face, mamíu fish); ksikúnista *white buffalo-calf* (: unistáys buffalo-calf).

ks istap - (ks ist -) *of no account, not real, worthless, etc.*, e.g. Ksistápiapikoän *Dutchman, German* (properly: *not real white man, stray white man*) (: Napikoän white man); Ksistapiniskim *For-nothing-buffalo-stone* (a woman's name) (: einiskim buffalo-stone); ksistapisksaykum *desert-land* (: ksáykum earth); ksistápitapi *person or people of no account, unreal person or people* (: matápi person, people). The unextended form ksist- only rarely occurs in nominal compounds : ksistómita *wild dog, stray dog* (: imitá dog).

ks isto-, ksistui- *warm, hot*, e.g. ksistókómi *warm water, hot water* (-komi, -kimi water); ksistuiókàkin *hot pemmican* (: mókàkin pemmican).



*ma k - bad*, e.g. *makski* (*mʌkski*) *bad-faced, ugly-faced* (: *ski face*); *makokis* *bad hide* (: *okis hide*). Much more common is the extended form *ma k a p -* (*- o k a p -*): *makāpaipistsi* *bad blanket* (: *nāipistsi blanket*); *makāpāke* *bad woman* (: *āké woman*); *makāpiapi* *bad old man* (: *nāpi old man*); *makāpiustsis* *bad tree* (: *mistsis tree*); *makāpinau* *bad man* (: *ninau man*); *makāpinokāmita* *bad horse* (: *ponokāmita horse*); *makāpipotātsis* *bad stove* (: *potātsis stove*); *makāpitapī* *bad person or people* (: *matāpi person, people*); *makāpozokō* *bad road* (: *mozokō road*); *makāpomitā* *bad dog* (: *imitā dog*). When preceded by another compositional element, *makap-* is modified to *-okap-* (cf. § 4), e.g. *ikokāpāke* *very bad woman* (: *makāpāke bad woman*).

*ma n - new, young*, e.g. *Manāisto* *New-crow* (a man's name) (: *maistō crow*); *Manāke* *New-woman* (: *āké woman*); *manāukin* (*manōkin*) *young wolf* (literally: *new-breast*) (: *-okin breast*); *manipōka* *new-born child* (: *pokāu child*); *-manoki-* *new lodge* in *mānokimiu* *he has a new lodge* (: *-oki- lodge*); *manōksin* *new bed* (: *aksin standing bed*); *mānōzk* *new bucket* (: *-ozk bucket*). Sometimes the second member of such a compound is a nominalized verbal form, e.g. *manākaistoāsi* *the people who are now growing up* (: *ākaistoāsiu he is going to grow up, āiistoāsiu he grows*); *manākaitapī* *the new-grown-up people* (: *ākaitapiu he is going to live, āitapiu he lives*); *manōtapōtsists* *pieces of meat newly brought in* (cf. *āutapōtsiu he brings the meat from a carcass, -āpotsists pieces of meat from a carcass, and mānotō he has come recently*). An extended form of *ma n -* is *ma n i s k -* (*- a n i s k -*) *young*: *maniskāiksini* *young pig* (: *āiksini pig*); *maniskēini* *young buffalo* (: *eini buffalo*); *māniskozyāio* *young bear* (: *kyāio bear*); *māniskomaykstoki* *young mule* (: *ōmaykstoki mule*); *māniskōmitā* *young dog* (: *imitā dog*); *manisksinokāmita* *young horse* (: *ponokāmita horse*); *māniskсистamik* *young buffalo-bull* (: *stāmik bull*); *maniskskēini* *young buffalo-cow* (: *skēini cow*). After another compositional element we find *-a n i s k -*, e.g. *ōmaykaniskskēini* *big young buffalo-cow*.

*matsiu -*, *matso -*, *matsi -* (*-itsiu -*, *-itso -*, *-itsi -*) *fine, good-looking, good*, e.g. *matsiiksistsiko* *fine day* (: *ksistsikō day*); *Matsōake* *Good-looking-woman* (a woman's name) (: *āké woman*); *matsōanikapi* *fine young man* (: *mānikāpi young man*). After other compositional elements: *iikitsiuāke* *very good-looking woman* (: *matsiuake, matsōake good-looking woman*); *-itsiuotas-* *good horse* in *nimoyxtaitsiuotas-pinan* *from (that) we (excl.) had good horses* (: *ōtās his horse*); *-itsiuokos-* *good colt* in *ixtāitsiuokōsiau* *from (that) they had good colts* (: *ōkōs his child, his colt*); *kaitsiuake* *very good-looking woman* (the same as *iikitsiuāke*). An extended form of this prefix is *matsoap-* (*-itsoap-*), e.g. *matsoāpanikapi* *fine young man* (the same as *matsōanikapi*); *matsoāpinau* *fine man* (: *ninau man*); *matsoāpitapi* *fine person, fine people* (: *matāpi person, people*); *matsoāpsaykinau* *fine young married man* (: *saykinau married man*).

mãχk - *red*, e.g. mãχkaipistsi *red blanket* (: nãipistsi *blanket*); -mãχkauy- *bloody mouth* in mãχkauyaki- *to be with bloody mouth* (: maáuyi *mouth*); mãχkoχsokò *bloody trail* (: moχsokò *trail*); mãχksikimi *red liquid (blood)* (: -kimi *liquid*); mãχksiksim *copper (red metal)* (: mĩkskim *metal*).

mek - (mik-) *red*, e.g. Mekiaisto (Mekãisto) *Red-crow* (a man's name) (: maistò *crow*); Mėkyotokāni *Red-head* (a man's name in an old folk-tale) (: motokāni *head*); Mėksikà *Red-feet* (a man's name) (: -ka *foot*); mėksikatsi *duck (red-feet)* (: -katsi *foot*); mekotsipis *red willow* (: otsipis *willow*). Extended forms of mek - (mik-) are mekots - (ekots -), by the side of which we find mekyots - (ekyots -), and mikap - (ikap -) : Mekotsitaytai *Red river* (: niétaytai *river*); Mėkyótsisaka *Red-tattoo-people*; ekotsápiksimi *red skin-eruption (measles)* (: apiksimi *eruption*); Ekotsikakatòsi *Red-star* (a man's name) (: kakatòsi *star*); Ekotsisapop *Red-plume* (a man's name) (: sãpòp *plume*); Ekotsisipnopa *Red-fox* (properly: *Red-kit-fox*, a man's name) (: sinopã *kit-fox*); Ekotsótokāni *Red-head* (a man's name) (: motokāni *head*); Ekotsótskina *Red-horn* (a man's name) (: otskinau *horn*); mikapiksoyi *red willow*; mikapipixkimikò *red earth* (: -ixkimmiko *earth*). Mekots - (ekots -) seems to be confined to personal and other proper names.

mi - (-i-) *hard, strong*, e.g. mikónisko *hard crust of snow* (: kónisko *snow lying on the ground*); miómita *strong horse* (properly: *hard dog*) (: imitã *dog*); miópis *hard rope, raw-hide lariat* (: apis *rope*).

mokaki - (-okaki-) *wise*, e.g. mokãkiãke *wise woman* (: aké *woman*); Mokãkiepòka *Wise-child* (a man's name) (: pokãu *child*). By the side of mokaki- we find the extended form mokakyap- : mokãkyapãke *wise woman*.

natoi - (-atoi-) *holy, having medicine-power*, e.g. natoieksistsikui *sunday (holy day)* (: ksistsikui *day*); natoietapi *holy person* (: matãpi *person*); Nãtoikimãni *Medicine-top-knot* (a woman's name) (: -kimãni *top-knot*); Nãtoiiksistaki *Medicine-beaver* (a woman's name) (: ksistaki *beaver*). Very common is the extended form natoap- (-atoap-), e.g. natoãpẽini *holy buffalo* (: eini *buffalo*); natoãpiapikoãn *Roman Catholic priest (holy white man)* (: nãpikoãn *white man*); natoãpinau *medicine-man* (: ninau *man*); natoãpoχkĩni *medicine-necklace* (: oχkĩni *his necklace*); natoãpoyis *church, mission-house (holy lodge)* (: moyis *lodge*); natoãpsinaksin *Bible (holy book)* (: sinãksin *anything written, book*).

nitap - (-itap-) *real* (extended form of nit- *one*, etc.), e.g. nitãpiãke *real woman* (: aké *woman*); nitãpiapiãke *real white woman* (: nãpiãke *white woman*); nitãpiapikoãn *real white man* (: nãpikoãn *white man*); nitãpiiksipitãke *real very old woman* (: iksipitãke *very old woman*); unitapòmi *her real husband* (: ómi *her husband*) (notice -nitap- instead of -itap-); nitãpoyis *real lodge* (: moyis *lodge*); nitãpskinètsimãni *real bag* (: skinètsimãni *bag*).

*noʒkets* - different e.g. *noʒkétstapi* people belonging to another tribe (: *matápi* people)

*ok* - raw, e.g. *ókapaíni* flour (*raw meal*) (: *napaíni* meal); *ókotokis* raw hide (: *motokis* hide)

*omazk* (*imazk*) large, big, old, e.g. *ómaʒkáatsista* jack-rabbit (*big rabbit*) (: *áatsista* rabbit); *ómaʒkàkè* old woman (: *àkè* woman); *ómaʒkàʒkioʒsàtsis* ship (: *áʒkioʒsàtsis* boat); *omazkápikaii* big skunk (: *ápèkaii* skunk); *ómaʒkàsí* big turnip (: *mási* eatable root); *ómaʒkatàio* mountain-lion (: *natàio* bob cat); *ómaʒkàuyis* big lodge (: *moyis* lodge); *ómaʒkixkina* (*imaykixkina*) mountain sheep (*big-horns*) (: *ixkin*-horn); *ómaʒkokuyi* big wolf (: *makúyi* wolf); *ómaʒkòʒkotoki* big rock (*óʒkotòki* rock, stone); *ómaʒkòʒpomis* great quantity of fat (: *pomis* fat); *ómaʒkopànni* big arrow (but *imaykópiu* has a big arrow); *O'maʒksàpòp* Big-plume (a man's name) (: *sàpòp* plume); *ómaʒksikàinaiskina* rat (: *kàinaiskina* mouse); *ómaʒksikimí* lake (*-kimi* water); *O'maʒksinistàmi* Big-lodge-pole (a man's name) (: *mínistàmi* lodge-pole); *ómaʒksistsèksina* rattle-snake (: *pítsèksina* snake); *O'maʒksputsikò* Big Sandhills (: *spútsikò* sand). Often we find *omazkai*-, e.g. *omazkáinau* big man, giant (cf. *ómaʒkinau* big man, old man, *ómaʒksinau* great chief, and *ninau* man, chief); *ómaʒkàistàk* big mountain (: *mistúki* mountain); *ómaʒkàistis* big tree (: *mistsis* tree); *omazkàitumo* big butte (: *nitúmmo* butte).

*otaʒkui* - yellow, e.g. *Otaʒkúikakò* Yellow-Dove (name of two members of the Yellow-Dove society) (: *kakò* dove); *otaʒkúini* yellow buffalo (: *eini* buffalo); *Otaʒkúisipisto* Yellow-owl (a man's name) (: *sépisto* owl).

*otskui* - (*otsku*-) green, blue, e.g. *O'tskuisipisto* (a man's name) *Blue-owl* (: *sépisto* owl); *ótskúisistsi* blue-bird (: *sistsi* small bird); *O'tskúski* Blue-face (the hero of an ancient tale) (: *-ski* face); *O'tskústòksi* Blue-face (the same as *O'tskúski*) (: *mostoksis* face).

*pàʒt* - false, e.g. *Paʒtsòpisòaʒs* False-Morning-star (: *Ipisòaʒs* Morning-star); *paʒtsikakaztànai* false-roots; *paʒtsíksistsikùma* false-thunder (a kind of bird) (: *ksistsikùma* thunder).

*pap* (*papai*-, *papau*-) happening in a dream, e.g. *papàistamik* buffalo-bull in a dream (: *stámik* bull); *papáuʒkyaiò* bear in a dream (: *kyáio* bear).

*pi* - far, coming from afar, e.g. *piitápi* person or people from afar (: *matápi* person, people); *Piyàni* Far-robe (a man's name) (cf. *imoíani* buffalo-robe, properly: hairy-robe).

*pisat* - (*pisat*-) wonderful, e.g. *pisátunistàʒs* wonderful buffalo-calf (: *unistàʒs* buffalo-calf); *pisátsini* wonderful buffalo (: *eini* buffalo); *pisatáipistsi* striped blanket (wonderful blanket) (: *náipistsi* blanket).

*pok* - small, e.g. *pokasókaiis* small trunk (: *asókaiis* trunk).

*pum* - good, e.g. *-pumotas* good horse in *katáipumotàsi* who has not good horses (: *ótàs* his horse).

s a k a k a p - *excellent*, e.g. sakakápitapi *excellent people* (: matápi *people*).

s a k o - *last*, e.g. sakóapôtsists *the last pieces of meat from a carcass* (: -apôtsists *pieces of meat from a carcass*); Sakóàke *Last-woman* (a woman's name) (: àké *woman*); Sakúyikakatòsi *Last-star* (: kakatòsi *star*).

s a χ k - *short*, e.g. Saχkáke *Short-woman* (a woman's name) (: àké *woman*); Saχkókiniks *Short-neck people* (a Peigan band) (: -okini *neck*); saχkóχtsiminaniu *he has short arms* (: -oχtsiminan- *arm*); saχkópis *short rope* (: apís *rope*); saχksikáu *he has short feet* (: -ka *foot*); sáχksikinakim *he has short legs* (: -kinaki- *leg*); saχksikinistsiu *he has short arms* (: -kinists- *arm*); saχksí *short-faced* (: -ski *face*).

s a χ k s t s - *light (not heavy)*. I regret not to have examples at my disposal.

s a χ p - *weak*. It certainly occurs in nominal compounds, though I do not remember to have heard it used as an attributive prefix.

s i k - *black*, e.g. sikáatsista *bush-rabbit (black rabbit)* (: áatsista *rabbit*); sikáipistsi *black blanket* (: náipistsi *blanket*); sikóχk *black pail* (-oχk *pail*); sikoχkòs *frying-pan (black vessel)* (: kòs *vessel*); sikóχkotòki *coal (black stone)* (: óχkotòki *stone*); sikoχkyàio *black bear* (: kyàio *bear*); sikómita *black dog* (: imitá *dog*); sikkokini *black birch* (: sékokini *birch*); Siksika *the Blackfoot tribe* (: -ka *foot*); siksini *black buffalo* (: einí *buffalo*); siksísókaiis *black trunk* (: asókaiis *trunk*); siksiki *black-faced* (-ski *face*); siksikim *black rock* (: -skim *stone, rock*). An extended form of sik- is sikap- *black, dirty*, e.g. sikáipistsi *black blanket* (: náipistsi *blanket*); sikapiski'm *blackish mare (grey mare)* (: ski'm *mare*).

s o k a p - *good*, e.g. sokápaipistsi *good blanket* (: náipistsi *blanket*); sokápinau *good man* (: ninau *man*); sokápàke *good woman* (: àké *woman*).

s p - (s pi-) *high*, e.g. spakiksaxko *high cliff* (: ákiksaxko *bluff, cut bank*); spisták *high mountain* (: mistáki *mountain*); spistsikitsikin *boot* (: istikitsikin *shoe*); spiápioyís *tower* (: nápioyis *house*); spisópàtsis *high seat* (: asópàtsis *seat*).

s p i k - *thick*, e.g. spikáipistsi *thick blanket* (: náipistsi *blanket*); spiksínaksin *book* (: sínáksin *anything, written*).

s t a χ t - *under the water*, e.g. Stáχtsiksiskstaki *Beaver-under-the-water* (a woman's name) (: ksiskstaki *beaver*); Stáχtsistámik *Under-bull* (a man's name) (: stámik *bull*).

s t o -, s t u i - *cold*, e.g. stókimi *cold water* (: -kimi *water*). Cf. stúisistsi *winter-bird*, that contains, however, the noun-stem stúyi *winter*.

s t u n n a t - *dangerous*. By the side of it we find the extended form stunnatap-.

s u i - *in the water*, e.g. Suiáikšini *Hog-in-the-water* (a woman's name) (: áiksini *hog*); suiāχkyaiò *water-bear* (a fabulous animal) (: kyàio *bear*); suiéstámik *water-bull* (a fabulous animal) (: stámik *bull*); suiómita *bird-dog* (literally: *dog in the water*) (: imitá *dog*).

*suvisks - curly* I did not note any examples of its use as an attributive adjective.

*tatšik - middle*, e.g. *tátsik(γ)aiksistsiküi noon* (: *ksistsikó, ksistsiküi day*); *tátsiksistokui midnight* (cf. *kokó, koküi night*).

The very common prefixes *akai - many*, *unnat - few* are treated in § 57.

## § 27 Predicative adjectives.

The predicative adjectives are intransitive verbs, regularly reflecting the person, the number, and the gender of the subject. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. E.g. *mokákiu is wise* is not recognizable by any external sign as only used of animate beings, though this appears from the meaning of the word. Nor is *piuó is far* morphologically differentiated as to gender.

Often the animate forms are characterized by a suffix *-s*: *áyssiu an., áysiu in. is good*; *ikáksiu an., ikakiu in. is low*; *mánisiu an., maniu in. is new*; *natósiu an., natoyiu in. is holy* (has supernatural power); *spíksiu an., spikiu in. is thick*, etc. Sometimes there exists only an animate form without an inanimate counterpart, e.g. *ikámsiu an. is fast, is quick* (by the side of *ikamó is fast, is quick*, which is animate as well as inanimate).

Here belong the adjective-verbs in *-ap(i)sü* for the animate, *-apiu* for the inanimate gender, e.g. *mákápsiu an., makápiu in. is bad*; *pisátapsiu an., pisátapiu in. is wonderful*; *sakakápsiu an., sakakápiu in. is excellent*; *sikápsiu an., sikápiu in. is blackish, is dirty*; *sokápsiu an., sokápiu in. is good*; *stúnnatápsiu an., stúnnatapiu is dangerous in.* etc. In a case as *kimmatápsiu an. is poor* we cannot expect to find an inanimate counterpart.

An interesting group is that of the adjective-verbs with the third person singular in *-m* for the animate, in *-atsü* for the inanimate gender, as: *anátšinam an., anátšinatsü in. looks pretty*; *immoyinam an., immoyinatsü in. looks hairy*; *ksiksinam an., ksiksinatsü in. is white*; *kúmonuinam an., kúmonuinatsü in. is dark-blue*; *nitanistsinam an., nitanistsinatsü in. looks like*; *otaxkúinam an., otaxkúinatsü in. is yellow*; *ótskúinam an., ótskúinatsü in. is green, is blue*; *siksinám an., siksinátsü in. is black*; *tsánistsinam an., tsánistsinatsü what colour is* (he an., it in.). To this type belong many colour-names. The reader will observe that the ending *-m* of the *-am*-verbs indicates the animate gender (cf. § 107). An *m* as sign of this gender is also present in some of the forms cited below.

Many predicative adjectives possess still other distinctions than that of animate and inanimate. So in certain cases there are different forms for the predicative adjective, according to its being used of persons, of animals, of trees (animate and inanimate).

I shall give here the characteristic forms of some of the most usual adjective-verbs:

*ómayksim an. is big (old)* (of persons), *ómaykimiu an. is big* (of animals), *ómayksiksim an. is big* (of animate trees), *ómayksiksiu in. is big* (of inanimate trees), *ómayko in. is big* (of inanimate things).

inákstsim an. *is small (young)* (of persons), inákimiu an. *is small* (of animals), inaksiksim an. *is small* (of animate trees), inaksiksiu in. *is small* (of inanimate trees), inákoxtsiu in. *is small* (of inanimate things).

pókimiu an. *is small* (of animals), pókisiu an. *is small* (of animate things).

spitau an. *is high (is tall)* (of persons), spimiu an. *is high* (of animals), spiksím an. *is high* (of animate trees), spiksiu in. *is high* (of inanimate trees), spiu in. *is high* (of inanimate things).

inóimiu (inóyimiu) an. *is long* (of animals), inoksim an. *is long* (of animate trees and wooden things), inoksiu in. *is long* (of inanimate trees and wooden things), inósím an. *is long* (of animate things in general), inoyiu in. *is long*.

sáxkimiu an. *is short* (of animals), sáxksiksim an. *is short* (of animate trees and wooden things), sáxksiksiu in. *is short* (of inanimate trees and wooden things), sáxksiú an. *is short* (of animate things in general), sáxkiu in. *is short*.

isoksim (soksim) an. *is heavy* (of persons), isókimiu (sókimiu) an. *is heavy* (of animals), isokó (sokó) in. *is heavy*.

sáxkstsim an. *is light (not heavy)*, sáxktsiu (sáxkotsiu) in. *is light* (as before).

místuyísiu (-istuyísiu) an. *is hard, is strong* (of human beings), misiú (-isiú) an. *is strong, can endure, can hold out* (of animals), miókasiú (-okasiú), miskapiú (-iskapiú) an. *is strong, has great muscular strength, has power*, míú (-iú) in. *it is strong, it is hard or tough*, miikó (-iikó) in. *it is hard, it is strong, it is difficult*.

sáxpsíu an. *is weak, cannot endure very much* (of men, animals, animate things), sáxpiú in. *is weak, cannot endure very much* (of inanimate things), sáxpiokásiu an. *is weak* (of men and animals with little muscular strength), sáxpiniú an. *is weak of health* (used of men and animals).

ksistósiu, ksistósím an. *is warm*, ksistuyíu in. *it is warm* (of the weather, of some place, or thing), ksistotsisiu in. *it is warm* (of the weather), ksistókómiu in. *it is warm* (of liquids).

stósiu (?), stósím an. *is cold*, stuyíu in. *it is cold* (of the weather, of some place, or thing), *it is winter*, stókimiu *it is cold* (of liquids), cf. itstósopu *there was a cold wind*.

The adjective-verbs mentioned in this paragraph are to be confronted with the list of prefixes in § 26. Then it will appear that the greater part of the adjective-verbs are based on those prefixed adjectives.

The reader will understand that the adjective-verbs are conjugated according to the respective classes they belong to (cf. § 106 and § 107).

### § 28. Degrees of comparison.

The comparative is expressed, attributively and predicatively, by means of the prefix *itsitsk-*, *otsitsk-*, *autsitsk-*, a compound of *itsk-* - *past*, e.g. *otsitskaxsi better*, *otsitskaxsiu is better* (in.), *otsitskaxssiu is better* (an.). So they will say: *otsitskaxsi (otsitsksokapsi) ninau a better*

*man; omá ninau otsitskaxssiu (otsitsksokapsiu) that man is better; amó ninau otsitsksokapsoxtöyiu únni that man is better than his father. When one wants to say he is better than I am, then the usual construction is he is better, I am not good : ostói otsitskaxssiu, nistóá nimátaxssi.*

Some other examples: *okóai itsitskaxssiu his lodge was better (than all the other lodges) (literally: his lodge was past good); itsitsksüko, otánisto-tóixpiái, otáumatsipiokáie a still harder thing that he does to him is that he (4 p.) takes him away (the literal translation of itsitsksüko is it is past hard, cf. miikó, -iikó it is hard); áuautsitsksipioó he went still farther (literally: he went past far, cf. piúó, pioó is far).*

The superlative may be expressed in different ways, the most simple of which is the pregnant use of the unchanged positive. E.g. *áyssiu he is good (compared with all others) = he is the very best.* Often the prefix *ka n -* (*ka n a i -*, *ka n a u -*) all is made use of to emphasize the highest degree, e.g. *kanáiyssiu he is the best of all, kanáumayksim he is the biggest (or oldest) (person) of all, kanáinakstsím he is the smallest (or youngest) (person) of all.* Or one will attach the prefix *ist -* to the adjective, and form e.g. *istómayksim (equivalent to kanáumayksim).* It is very usual to combine *ist -* with *ka n -*, and to say for the best man of all *istoχkanáiyssi ninau*, or for he is the best of all *istoχkanáiyssiu*; for the worst man of all *istoχkanáukapsi ninau*, for he is the worst of all *istoχkanáukapsiu*. Still another way to form the superlative is the prefixation of *nit -* (cf. § 56 and § 59). We may have some doubt, however, about the true semantic value of *nit -* in such cases. Is *nitáyssiu he is the very best* properly *he is the good one among all*, or rather *he is the only good one (or the really good one) (compared with others)?*

For very Blackfoot uses the prefix *ik -* (*iks -*), *iik -* (*iiks -*) or compounds of it. Examples of the simple prefix: *ikáyssi ninau a very good man; omá ninau ikáyssiu that man is very good; ikakáuoiau mi'nists there are very many berries; ómaniaie íkanatsinam over there is a living thing looking very pretty; ikspítáu he is very tall; iiksikaksíu he was very short; íkstuyíu, it is very cold; áiiksiksístuyíu it had got very hot; iiksikínaykó the earth is very soft; iiksipió he was very far; iikitamápiu it is very funny.* The prefix is also used with other than adjective-verbs (see § 118).

Compounds of *ik -* are *kai -* (from *ik - ai -*), *ikskai -*, *ikskaiik -*. Examples: *káikitsópíssi she is very fine; káitsiukéixpaie that she was a very good-looking woman; ótskaistuyis because it was very cold; ikskai-kimmatápsixiké it was very poor; áiikskaisokápiu (ikskaiiksokápiu) it is exceedingly good.*

Stronger than *ik -* is *amai -* (*- o mai -*), *am -* (*- o m -*) exceedingly, in an unusually high degree. Examples: *amáistuyíu it is exceedingly cold; ótsítomáispixp where it was highest; kitómauksín you are very mean; maíái támiamaxsín her robe then was very fine (notice *- a m -* instead of *- o m -*); imákumaiskúnatápis even if it is a very bad case (literally: even if it is very strong). Even this prefix may be emphasized still by repeating*

it (maumai- from am-aumai), or by providing it, or its repetition, with .ik- (ikom-, ikaum-, ikomaum-). Examples of such excessives: omá ninau ikómaumaḡksim *that man is exceedingly big (too big)*; nitsikomaumaḡks I am exceedingly big (too big); omá akékoān ikómaumainakstsim *that girl is exceedingly small (too small)*; nitsikómaumainaksts I am exceedingly small (too small); ikómaumainak<sup>o</sup>ḡtsiu omí asókaiis *that trunk is exceedingly small (too small)*. For the use of a mai-, etc., with other verbs than predicative adjectives see § 118.



## CHAPTER VII.

### Personal and possessive pronouns.

#### § 29. Independent personal and possessive pronouns.

The personal pronouns as independent words look very much like possessive forms of a noun-stem, and have obviatives, the third person being an obviative in itself. The stem on which they are based is -sto- (-stu-) and is evidently the same as -sto- (-stu-) *body* in:

mostúmi *body* (properly: *somebody's body*), nostúmi *my body*, nitâxkanâistumi *my whole body*, inístum *dead body*, kâksistomiu *he was just naked* (literally: *he just had a body*), okâksistomoaii *they were only bodies*; kimátakox̄taístòkitòko *you will not be shot through the body with (it)*, mâtakaistokitoàu *he would not be shot through the body*, etc.

Therefore it would seem, that the Blackfoot Indians instead of *I*, *you*, etc., use, or, perhaps better, used, to say *my body*, *your body*, etc. Nowadays the idea of *body* is scarcely present in the Indian mind, when they use the words which here are styled "independent personal pronouns". Moreover, this pronominal series is morphologically differentiated from nostúmi *my body*, kostúmi *your body*, ostúmi *his body*, etc., 1<sup>o</sup>. by lacking the *m*-suffix characterizing the noun-forms, 2<sup>o</sup>. by the use of a different set of possessive prefixes, viz. of *ni-* : *ki-* : *o-* in one case, of *no-* : *ko-* : *o-* in the other.

Whatever their original value may have been, at all events the Blackfoot independent personal pronouns are used only then, when the speaker wishes to lay stress on the personality, respectively, of himself, of the person he is speaking to, or of the person he is speaking of. As the conjunct personal pronouns (see § 30) are quite sufficient for ordinary use, the independent ones are strictly emphatical. They are nearly equivalent to our expressions *myself*, *yourself*, etc. The idea *self* can also be expressed in the verb, viz. by the prefix *a u a t -* (see § 31).

Before giving some examples to illustrate the emphatical character of the independent personal pronouns, I shall give a survey of them (the terms inclusive and exclusive have been explained in § 21):

nistóá, obv. nistói, *I*.

ksistóá, obv. ksistói, *you*.

ostói *he (she, it)*.

nistúnàn(a), obv. nistúnàni *we (excl.)*.

ksistúnùn(a), obv. ksistúnùni *we (incl.)*.

ksistóau(a) *you (plur.)*.

ostóauai *they*.

These personal pronouns, predicatively used, may have the suffix *-kauk* attached to them, which is also added to other pronouns.

Examples of the emphatical use of the independent personal pronouns: *omí oxsis anínai: nistóá nitákitôm her younger sister said: I shall marry him (since my elder sister does not want to do so).*

*nistóakauk kokúyi ixtáapiua I am the one that can see through the night.*

*nistóá ninetsitapi ánni (ni)tánists I am the only one that has done that.*

*nistóá nisótamaxkai I myself went home then.*

*itsinaitapiksim nitsétanists, ki nistói nitsitsipua then he (the horse I had roped) pulled my saddle off (the horse I was riding), and I myself then got up (nistói my own person, I myself, is a fourth person, the horse the boy had roped being the third person).*

*nistói sapánisi let (buffalo) fall down on each side of myself (the obviative is conditioned by the buffalo that are understood to stand for the third person).*

*istápiyokinan, nistói nakáxkatsitsipiskskyòki take us over there, he may cut me across the face.*

*kóxpatsótoainiki ksistóá, kitsémani, nitáikamosi manikâpi; saiekóxpatsainiki, nistóá kóxpatsainiki, nitsémani, nimátaikamos manikâpi if you knock it down, you are right that I steal a young man; if you do not knock it down, if I knock it down, I am right that I do not steal a young man.*

*nistóá náxkstaufmôtsauopi, nitsikaxtaumauopi I myself would have conquered him, if I had been in the gambling.*

*ksistóá náxkatsitapot go you also.*

*ksistóá nitákitómi I shall marry you (and nobody else).*

*ksistóá kitaiki it is you that whistled.*

*ksistóyi ánni nitómoztanisksimistatsau, annóm máxkitokèkan for your sake I made him think that he should camp here (the obviative is conditioned by the third person spoken of).*

*ki ostói stámoxkataxkâiu and he himself then also went home.*

*ostóyi omá akéua áikyaiautopotóxkoxtàua that woman herself always came back with the wood very late.*

*ki ostóyi kénnaux itaxtókasiu and he himself then turned into a pine-tree.*

*ki ostóyi itsiksikapistotóxsiua and himself too he made very clean.*

*ikúnnotsinai, ostói ixtoxkóyinaí (his tribe) was very hungry, from him it was that it got something to eat.*

*áutoiiniki, ksistóaua kitákaipyàmisoxxpua when I come back, you will go up one by one.*

*annóxk ksistóau kitákàuatóxpinaí now we (excl.) shall eat you (pl.).*

*ostóauai otsipúmmokoaiau Soisksisiks they themselves were initiated by the Flies.*

The independent personal pronouns may also emphasize a conjunct possessive pronoun:

*ániixk Maistópana : nistóá nitáksin Crow-arrow said: it is a wound made by myself (that means: I myself hit the bird).*

nistóá nitsístotóxsists nitúyim istoxtótáu put my own clothes in the same (bundle).

ki anníma ksistóá kopánni noxkaykúmataxkokit and you lend that penis of yours to me.

Blackfoot has also a series of independent possessive pronominal adjectives, which are very often used predicatively. They are:

nitsinán mine (nitsinánists my things).

kitsinán yours (kitsinánists your things).

otsinán his (otsinánists his things).

nitsinānan ours (excl.) (nitsinānanists our, excl., things).

kitsinānun ours (incl.) (kitsinānunists our, incl., things).

kitsinānoau yours (when speaking to more persons) (annāpautsik kitsinānoauaists now, take, plur., your things).

otsinānoaiu theirs (ki otsinānoauaists nitúyi nitāxsii and their things were just as fine).

Predicative use: ámomaié otsinán amóm ómayksikimi this is his, this lake; tókskama āpisi otsināni ki āpssi one of them had a coyote-skin and an arrow; kitsinānats? á, nitsinān(aie) is it yours? yes, it is mine.

### § 30. Conjunct personal and possessive pronouns.

In general the conjunct personal and possessive pronouns are identical, in Blackfoot as well as in other Algonquian languages. The same prefixed elements, which we have met with in the possessive flexion of nouns (§ 21), *n o -* and *k o -* excepted, function as personal prefixes in the conjugation. It must, however, be observed that the inclusive first person plural in the verb, in contradistinction to the possessive flexion, does not have any personal prefix, and that such a prefix is also missing in most forms with a third person, singular or plural, as subject. The particular cases where the third person does require a prefix, will appear below. As to the terms *inclusive* and *exclusive* I may refer to § 21, where they have been explained.

I shall arrange the conjunct personal and possessive pronouns according to their characteristic sounds, distinguishing between *n*-prefixes, *k*-prefixes, *o*-prefixes, and *m*-prefixes.

#### Prefixes with characteristic *n*-

*n* - I (me), only used before certain modal and modifying prefixes of the verb, as *a x k -* (final conjunctive), *a k -* (future of the conjunctive), *i k a m -* eventually, *- a n i s t -* according to, *a s i -* (as-) just, e.g. *nāxkipitapaiakāni* that I may just confess; *nāxkótakòaxsau* that I must give them a drink; *nāxkitsoyis* that I should eat there; *koxkóa nāxkitsitòms* that I should marry your son; *nāksipisi* that I shall enter; *nākitapòxsi* that I should go there; *nākoxpoksimayxi* that I should stay with her together; *nikámoykoyixtopi* did I but get something to eat; *nikámayxkaiixtopi* were it possible that I came home; *ki ánnayaie nanistsksinoau, nanistáu xtsimatáu*

and that is what I know about them, what I heard about them (literally, both times: about him); nátsotamisapi I shall just look over the hill. — we (us) (excl.), in combination with certain suffixes; used in the same way as stated above about *n i - I (me)*, e.g. náksipisinàn that we (excl.) shall enter; nanistótaspinan as we (excl.) owned horses separately. — my: naáu<sup>y</sup>i my mouth, natsini my tongue, naiá<sup>i</sup>ua my robe, natsikin my moccasins, nóma my husband. — our (excl.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun: naá<sup>x</sup>sinàna our (excl.) grand-parent (also: parent-in-law), nóminàna our (excl.) husband.

*n i - I (me)*, only before certain modal, temporal, and modifying prefixes with originally or secondarily initial consonant, e.g. níká<sup>i</sup>api I am already an old man; niná<sup>x</sup>kanistá<sup>x</sup>tsimà<sup>x</sup>pi the way I heard about them (literally: him); námaiks niná<sup>x</sup>kainoki the guns can see me, it is true; nímox<sup>t</sup>stuyis I am ashamed of (it). — we (us) (excl.), in combination with certain suffixes; used in the same way as *n i - I (me)*, e.g. níká<sup>i</sup>nitanan we (excl.) have killed her; ninox<sup>s</sup>ikimmokinan he pities us (excl.), it is true; nímox<sup>t</sup>taistunnòanàni isistsiks that we (excl.) are afraid of wolverines. — my: ninna my father, niksista my mother, ninámau my gun, niná<sup>p</sup>im my old man, nisekà<sup>n</sup>i my bed, nisókà<sup>s</sup>imi my dress. — our (excl.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun: ninnàna our (excl.) father, nipitáminàna our (excl.) old woman; nisópàtsinàna our (excl.) seat.

*n i t - I (me)* (before initial *i* assimilated to *n i t s -*, before consonants *n i t o x -*, before other vowels than *i* unchanged), e.g. nitáinoau I see him; nitáinok (nitáinauk) he sees me; nitá<sup>n</sup>ik he told me; nitsipisi when I entered; nitáksipask I shall dance (notice, that in the future of the indicative, in contradistinction to the future of the conjunctive, we find *n i t -*, not *n -*, before *a k -*). — we (us) (excl.), in combination with certain suffixes (as to *n i t s -* and *n i t o x -* see above), e.g. nitáinoanàn we (excl.) see him; nitsipisinàn when we (excl.) entered; nitsiksipokinan he bites us (excl.); nitoxpátóxp<sup>i</sup>nan we (excl.) carry it. — my (about the variants *n i t s -*, *n i t o x -* see above), e.g. nitákà<sup>u</sup> my partner, nito<sup>x</sup>kéman my wife, nitómità<sup>m</sup> my dog, nitsikiatsis my whistle, nitsinixkàs<sup>i</sup>m my name. — our (excl.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun (about *n i t s -*, *n i t o x -* see above), e.g. nitómitàminàna our (excl.) dog, nito<sup>x</sup>kémanàna our (excl.) wife, nitsinaiminàna our (excl.) chief; nitsistsipisimatsinàna our (excl.) whip.

*n o - my*, e.g. no<sup>x</sup>kó<sup>a</sup> my son, nókós my child, nóxpss<sup>i</sup> my arrow, nótsètsi my mitten, nomáukais my breast. — our (excl.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun, e.g. no<sup>x</sup>kúnàna our (excl.) son, nókósinàna our (excl.) child, nokúnàna our (excl.) lodge. — Forms as nómox<sup>t</sup>sitòto I came along there, nómox<sup>t</sup>tátotomay<sup>x</sup> I ran back with (it) are not used by good Blackfoot-speakers.

A very frequent phenomenon in the first person, in the possessive flexion as well as in the conjugation, is the loss of the initial syllable *ni -*. In the case of the prefix *n i -*, the sign of the first person is then reduced to zero;

in the case of *nit-* (*nits-*, *nitoχ-*) there remains only *t-* (*ts-*, *toχ-*). Examples: *nistóa tákiitau I shall skin it (an.)*; *tákipisaykúmi I shall shoot a while*; *tákoksisoátaiu I shall visit him*; *táksistapo I am going away*; *átakúsi táistamoxtò in the afternoon I am going along*; *tsitamsoksinoàu, otáisâxpauàns I then suddenly saw, that they* (grammatically a singular) *were just jumping out.*

#### Prefixes with characteristic *k-*.

*k-* *you* (sing.), used in the same way as the prefix *n-* *I (me)* (see above), e.g. *kâχkitapoxpi where you should go*; *kâχkstatakàatskàni that you should never more have a partner*; *kâksikamitotànik he will perhaps go and tell you*; *tsâ kanistâpapauâuaχkayp what do you travel about for*; *kâsikipsketso I just scare you for a while*; *kikâmauatoxtopi were it but possible that you might eat it.* — *you* (plur.), in combination with certain suffixes; used in the same way as *k-* *you* (sing.), e.g. *kâχkotaykòspuaixk that you (pl.) may stretch your hands out*; *pôχsapok kitoχkémauaiks kaykitsâipiauaii come (pl.) here, that you take your wives out.* — *your* (sing.), e.g. *kaáuŷi your mouth*, *katsini your tongue*, *kaiâiua your robe*, *katsikin your moccasin*, *kóma your husband.* — *your* (plur.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun, e.g. *kaâysoâua your (pl.) grand-parent* (also: *parent-in-law*, *kómoâua your (pl.) husband.* — *our* (incl.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun, e.g. *kaâysinûna our (incl.) grand-parent* (also: *parent-in-law*), *kóminûna our (incl.) husband.*

*ki-* *you* (sing.), used under the same conditions as *ni-* *I (me)* (see above), e.g.: *kikâtoχkoχkêmi you have got another wife*; *kikâuχkoi you have got something to eat*; *kikâipaχtsân you have said wrong*; *kikâtaîno-kixpa did you see me*; *kimauksipisks why did you come in*; *kinâtoχkanist I just tell you.* — *you* (plur.), in combination with certain suffixes; used in the same way as *ki-* *you* (sing.), e.g. *kimâtoχpâtakixpuaua you (pl.) do not carry*; *kinâtsikimmoχpuau I just pity you (pl.).* — *your* (sing.): *kinna your father*, *kiksista your mother*, *kisekâni your bed*, *kisôkâsimi your dress*, *kipapâukani your dream*, *kisôpâtsis your seat.* — *your* (plur.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun, e.g. *kinnoâua your (pl.) father*, *kiksistoâua your (pl.) mother*, *kipitâmoâua your (pl.) old woman.* — *our* (incl.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun, e.g. *kinnûna our (incl.) father*, *kimsinûna our (incl.) daughter-in-law*, *kisôpâtsinûna our (incl.) seat*, *kisókaiinûna our (incl.) trunk.*

*kit-* *you* (sing.) (before initial *i* assimilated to *kits-*, before consonants *kitoχ-*, before other vowels than *i* unchanged), e.g. *kitâinoau you see him*; *kitâinok (kitâinâuk) he sees you*; *kitânik he told you*; *kitsipisi when you entered*; *kitâitsauâipask you are the only one that does not dance.* — *you* (plur.), in combination with certain suffixes (as to *kits-* and *kitoχ-* see above), e.g. *kitâiôkaypuau you (pl.) are sleeping*; *kitoχpâtauau you (pl.) carry him*; *kitsiksipoχpuau I bite you.* — *your* (sing.) (about *kits-*, *kitoχ-* see above), e.g. *kitoχkêman your wife*, *kitákâu*

*your partner*, kitóksin *your bed*, kitómitām *your dog*, kitsikiatsis *your whistle*, kitsinixkāsīm *your name*. — *your* (plur.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun (about kits-, kitoχ- see above), e.g. kitómitāmoàua *your* (pl.) *dog*, kitoχkēmoàua *your* (pl.) *wife*, kitsistsimoàua *your* (pl.) *stick*. — *our* (incl.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun (about kits-, kitoχ- see above), e.g. kitómitāminūna *our* (incl.) *dog*, kitoχkēmanūna *our* (incl.) *wife*, kitsistsiminūna *our* (incl.) *stick*.

*ko-* *your* (sing.), e.g. koχkóa *your son*, kókós *your child*, kótás *your beast*, kóχpssi *your arrow*, kokóa *your lodge*, kotsémmokān *your hat*. — *your* (plur.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun, e.g. koχkóàua *your* (pl.) *son*, kókósoàua *your* (pl.) *child*, kótásoàua *your* (pl.) *beast*, kóχpssóàua *your* (pl.) *arrow*, kokóaua (kokóauàua) *your* (pl.) *lodge*. — *our* (incl.), in combination with a suffix added to the noun, e.g. koχkúnūna *our* (incl.) *son*, kókósínūna *our* (incl.) *child*, kótásínūna *our* (incl.) *beast*, kóχpssínūna *our* (incl.) *arrow*, kokúnūna *our* (incl.) *lodge*.

#### Prefixes with characteristic o-.

*o-* *he* (*she, it*), often used in the conjunctive, and also in combination with the relative suffix -pi (-χpi, -xpi) (cf. § 46), e.g. omāχtāχ-pauānis *that (the buffalo-herd) was jumping along off (the bank)*; omātsitotoχsaie *when he came back there*; okānistauauaykāχpi *while he was walking still*. — *they*; in combination with certain suffixes; used in the same way as stated above about the singular, e.g. okānistaiokāχpiau *while they are still sleeping*. — Used as prefix of the fourth person singular, e.g. ómoχtsināpiskokaie *he* (3 p.) *was chased along by him* (4 p.) *lower down*; osótamoχkokaie *he* (5 p.) *was then given to him* (3 p.) *by him* (4 p.). — Also in the fourth person plural, e.g. osótamanikaiks *they* (4 p.) *then told him*. — *his* (*her, its*), also appearing as *u-*, e.g. oχkói *his son*, ókós *his child*, okóai *his lodge*, omāukaiis *his breast*, oχtókis *his ear*, óχpssi *his arrow*, opiskāni *his corral*, opáksātsis *his stone-hammer*; únmi *his father*, ú'si (also ó'si) *his elder brother*, únistsi *his elder sister*. — *their*, in combination with a suffix added to the noun; also appearing as *u-*; e.g. oksístoàuai (oksístoai) *their mother*, opitāmoàuai *their old woman*; únnoàuai *their father*, uskáuai *their younger brother*.

*òt-* *he* (*she, it*) (before initial *i* assimilated to *ots-*, before consonants *otoχ-*, before other vowels than *i* unchanged), used in the same way as *o-* *he* (*she, it*), e.g. otsipisi *when he entered*; otáioκαχsi *when he sleeps*; otsikóχkétaksi *because she was ashamed*. — *they*, in combination with certain suffixes (as to *ots-*, *òtoχ-* see above); used in the same way as the singular, e.g. otsipísau *when they entered*. — Used as prefix of the fourth person singular, e.g. otānik *he* (4 p.) *told him* (3 p.); otsiksipokoaiau *he* (4 p.) *bites them* (3 p.); ótaχtaikspipokoaiauaie *they* (3 p.) *were each of them bitten through the skull by her* (4 p.); otsikókōnokaie *he* (3 p.) *was overtaken by him* (4 p.); ótsitsiksàsokóχtōkaie omā ponokāistamikā *she* (4 p.) *then ran away from that elk-bull* (3 p.). — Also in the fourth person

plural, e.g. *otsiksipokoaiau they* (4 p.) *bite them* (3 p.) (cf. the identical form above); *otáistamiksiksàakaiks they* (4 p.) *then would just walk away from him* (3 p.); *otsinoχkatsimok okósiks she* (3 p.) *was troublesome to her children* (4 p.). — *his (her, its)* (about the variants *ots-*, *otoχ-* see above), e.g. *otoχkéman his wife*, *otóksin his bed*, *otomím his fish*, *otsinain his chief*, *otsinixkàsím his name*, *otsistoan his beard*. — *their*, in combination with a suffix added to the noun (about *ots-*, *otoχ-* see above), e.g. *otoχkémòàuai their wife*, *otsinaimòàuai (otsinaimoi) their chief*, *otsistsimòàuai their stick*.

#### Prefixes with characteristic *m-*.

*m-* *he (she, it)*, in general used in the same way as *n-* *I*, *k-* *you*, though in the future of the subjunctive it usurps the domain of *n-* and *k-*, so that, e.g. *máksikstakièniki* means *if I shall bite* and *if you will bite* as well as *if he will bite* (but in the future of the conjunctive *m-* is used only in the third person). Examples: *máχksinisaie that (the gambling-wheel) might die*; *máχksksinoaysaie that he may know him*; *máχksoatâxpi (for something) that he might eat*; *máksipisi that he will enter*; *máksotâsi that it will rain*. — *they*, used in the same way as the singular, e.g. *máχksoatâxpiau (for something) that they might eat*; *máksipisau that they will enter*. — *his (her, its)*, e.g. *maáuysi his mouth*, *maíáiuá his robe*, *maâysi his grand-parent* (also: *parent-in-law*). — *their*, in combination with a suffix added to the noun, e.g. *maâysoàuai their grand-parent* (also: *parent-in-law*). — In some names of parts of the body and in some other words *m-* is to be considered as an indefinite possessive prefix (*somebody's*). So *mistóan beard*, *mámin feather* will properly mean: *somebody's beard*, *somebody's (some bird's) feather*. It is to be noticed that in some cases the indefinite possessive and definite possessive forms of the third person are identical, e.g. *maáuysi (somebody's) mouth* and *his mouth*, *maíáiuá (somebody's) robe* and *his robe*.

*mo-* indicates indefinite possession and is found in most names of parts of the body, e.g. *mokakini (somebody's) back*, *mókoan (somebody's) belly*, *motstsipina (somebody's) cheek*, *moápsspi (somebody's) eye*, etc.

Recapitulating, we can say that both in the verb and the noun we find the series *n-* : *k-* : *m-*, *ni-* : *ki-* : *o-*, *nit-* : *kit-* : *ot-* (with their variants *nits-* : *kits-* : *ots-* and *nitoχ-* : *kitoχ-* : *otoχ-*), whereas the prefixes *no-*, *ko-*, and *mo-* are confined to the noun.

#### § 31. The prefix *auat-* *self*.

Blackfoot has a reflexive conjugation, which is based on the transitive animate stem with a suffix *-oχs(i)* attached to it, but has the personal endings of the intransitive verbs (see § 74). The reflexive idea may be strengthened by the prefix *auat-* (*auat-*), which also in non-reflexive verbal forms occurs with the meaning *self*. The idea of reciprocity too is not rarely emphasized by means of this same prefix.

Examples of its use in non-reflexive, reflexive, and reciprocal forms:  
 auâtstsiptotok *come in to take it (the gambling-wheel) yourselves.*

auátapâuatok *eat (pl.) them yourselves.*

itomátapauâtapiksistsiu *then he began to rattle with them (an.).*

ksaxkúm auátôxpatiskoys *that the earth herself was shaking.*

otómitâmi áuatsiksipoxsinaí *his dog bites himself.*

áuatsiksipoxsop *we (incl.) bite ourselves.*

kimâtauauatsiksipoxsipa *you do not bite yourself.*

áuataisiksipotseïau *they are biting each other.*

mâtauataisiksipotseopats *we (incl.) do not bite each other.*



## CHAPTER VIII.

### Demonstrative pronouns.

#### § 32. General remarks.

Passing on to the demonstrative pronouns, we have to emphasize their local character. So the proper value of *a m ó* (*á m o*) is not simply *this*, but rather *here-being*, *being in this place*, *being in this country*, or the like. In the same way the pronoun *o m á* (*ó m a*), *o m í* (*ó m i*) means properly *there-being*, *being in that place*, and may be often translated by an indefinite article. This peculiarity of the Blackfoot demonstratives, which it shares with other Algonquian languages, will be illustrated by the examples given in the following paragraphs.

In many cases demonstrative pronouns are used as adverbs of place and time (see § 121). After what I have said about the local character of the demonstratives, this may easily be understood.

Another peculiarity of the Blackfoot demonstratives is that they often have added to them restrictive endings, which give a particular emphasis to the words they are attached to. The precise syntactical value of these characteristic endings, which are *-i(a)*, *-m(a)*, and *-k(a)*, requires further investigations. We have seen already in another place (§ 17), that these endings of the demonstrative pronoun very often influence the noun defined by it. In the same way the localizers in *-t si* and *-o x t si* often take the restrictive endings *-m* and *-k* under the influence of demonstratives in *-im*, *-ik* (see § 120).

The demonstrative pronouns may be also extended by means of relative suffixes, and then they acquire the value of relative pronouns, but this extension will be treated in another chapter (see § 39).

I have only to add that the demonstrative pronouns are verbalized by means of suffixes (*-a u k*, *-a i e*, etc.). Then they are, to a certain degree, treated as ordinary verbs and often assume verbal endings. When a verbalized animate demonstrative has the function of a fourth person, the suffix *-i n a i* (*-i n*) is attached to it, as in the fourth person of other verbs. Verbalized demonstratives may be also extended by relative suffixes (cf. § 104), and by the emphatic suffix *-a k i* (cf. § 16 and § 103).

#### § 33. *a m o*.

As will be seen from the examples given afterwards, the demonstrative *a m o* has clearly the deixis of the first person. It indicates that the idea expressed by the noun defined by it has a special reference to the "ego", is near to the "ego", either in local reality, or only in the speaker's conscience.

I shall first give a survey of the forms, which this pronoun may take in the sentence according to different syntactical conditions, but as in all of them the principal stress shifts from the first to the second syllable (e.g. *ámó*, *ámóksi*), it will be unnecessary to accentuate each particular form. The normal accentuation, however, is *ámó*, and *ámo* is used only when the speaker wants to emphasize the pronoun.

Sing. an. in.: *amo*, *amoi(a)*, *amom(a)*, *amok(a)*. The form *amom(a)* is often used adverbially in the sense of *here*.

Sing. an. obv.: *amoi*.

Sing. an. in. verbalized: *amauk*, *amauauk*, *amoiauk*, *amoiaie*, *amomauk*, *amomaie*, *amokaie*. Cf. also *amaie*, *amaiaie*.

Plur. an.: *amoksi*, *amoksim(a)*, *amoksik*.

Plur. an. verbalized: *amoksiauki*, *amokskauki*.

Plur. in.: *amoistsi*, *amoistsim(a)*, *amoistsik*.

Plur. in. verbalized: *amoistsiauki*, *amoistsiaie*.

Examples showing the local character and the first-person's deixis of *amo*:

*itsksinoyiuaie amó ákaitapiua, ánnayxkauk suiéstamikà then this ancient people (who were the speaker's and his people's ancestors) knew that that one was the water-bull.*

*stámitapòiaü omim otsínaimi amó matápi then they went to the chief of this people (the speaker is talking about).*

*amóksi saykúmapiks istóχkanaitamitakiixk omixk opápaukan these boys (the speaker's fellow-tribesmen) it were that were all happy over what had been that dream of his.*

*mátakitstsixpa, kaykótomòki amóksi osákiks there will be none, that will take this back-fat (that we have got here) away from you.*

*áuke, ámoistsi nitsináni now, here are my things.*

*máukaniu kinnun, aykstáminakátayx amói itsiwanai why did our (incl.) father say, that we should not roll this gambling-wheel (we play with) eastward?*

*otánik omi kipitáke : áyxa kímoxtápauáuaykayp. ánistšiuaié : ámoi nitáksksšini he was told by the old woman : what do you walk for? he said to her : (I walk) for this my scar.*

*amóǵ kámixtáu here is a buffalo-chip (said while it was handed over).*

*itámsoksinim amói ómaykaiaýke otsikokótayx (the tribe) suddenly saw that this big water (uppermost in the Peigan story-teller's mind) was frozen over.*

*omiksi, nátsitapiks áisakapátomiaü amói áýké those two persons came out of this water here (though there is no local proximity, the water he tells of is quite near to the speaker's "ego").*

*nitákoχponoau, nitáksikyotoau amói einiskima I shall grease (and) paint this buffalo-stone (the speaker has in her hand).*

*aiaksiniki, istsipótos amóia imitáuai when I am going out, turn this dog,*

(of ours) loose (it would be wrong, to think of a second-person's deixis in such cases).

áukanaisinstsimaie amói einiu *all these buffalo licked it* (the buffalo-herd is often spoken of as *these buffalo*, i.e. *the buffalo of this our own country*).

amóm ómaḡksikskuyixk àitsistsó *he then entered a forest of big trees in this country here.*

amóm ómaḡksikimim kináutamisó *he went slowly up to a lake in this country here.*

ámom ákitsipiop *we (incl.) shall go into this (sweat-lodge) here.*

ámom nínauyis, káḡkitsipisi *this other one here is a men's lodge, where you ought to go in.*

amóm máksiniuám ksistápists sotámikakòtsit *take just only the choicest parts of this carcass here.*

amóm óḡkotokim autámitsipistaniāḡpatskuyi *then they had tramped around this rock here, so that there was a deep hole.*

ámom mistsisim akitópiu *it will sit on this tree here.*

amóistsim kitápotsists (ni)taksikaistsáuoḡsoiau *these pieces of meat here that you have brought from a carcass, for a time I shall not eat of them.*

ixtókimiú amóka niétaxtai *this river was full.*

ki amók ótapisinik itsinókisistotoyiau *and then they told the happy news to these people behind.*

napi, amók itáixtsiuak 'Askstakiua omiksksaúauatskòs *partner, do not stir this one lying here, the Blood-sucker.*

ámok kaiiksik pitsikóḡts ányaie itsót *put it there on one side of this trail here.*

aiáu, manikâpi, káḡkstamoḡtòki ámoksik istseksinaikókâiksik *oh, young man, these owners of the snake-painted lodge here might hear you.*

ákaiksistopii istsisómaiks, ixtsisapiksisâiinai amóksik akiksik *the hidens were sitting already, (the buffalo-herd) ran between these stone-piles.*

Probably belong here (and not in § 42):

iskitsímiau annóḡk ámoksk ómaḡksinokâmítaiks, otáisau *they beat these big horses of nowadays, because they were hard.*

ámoistsk nimátsitaisuixtâḡp on these (wooden things) *I do not put my food.*

Examples of verbalized forms of a m o :

ámauk annâḡk ninna *here is that one who is my father.*

áuke, taiá koḡkóá? itsipixkiniuaie, ánistisuaie: ki ámauk *tell me, which is your son? he caught him as he went by, he said to him: and here he is.*

na'á, amáuoka koḡkóá (amáuoka koḡkóá) *mother, here is your son.*

amóiauk annâḡk otátuyiua *here is this one that is the black-fox.*

amóiauk notskinaua *here is my horn.*

ámoiauk nitsikiatsis *here is my whistle.*

ámoiauk (ni)ḡakoḡtsikâkstaki *this (piece of gut) that I shall bite off is she (the woman I love).*

má, nóxpssists amóistsiauki, tsipaɣpákítáu look here, here are my arrows, brush them (the robes) with them.

amóiaie nitoɣkóɣkoiiskana this one it is I found for a son.

Soyisksi, amóiaie, kə́kkitsoatoɣp Curly, here is something that you can eat.

ki ámoiaie otokána, nitoɣkónixpinana and here is some of his hair, we (excl.) found it.

amóiai noɣksóatot here is some for you to eat (literally: here is something, eat it).

ki ámoksaie natósiks and these (seven sticks) were the moons.

ámoistsiaie nitsináni these are my things.

amóistsiaie kámixtáie here are buffalo-chips.

amóistsiaie káɣkakoɣkosixpixk (the text has: káɣkakɣosixpixk) these are the things that you can boil.

amoistsiaie, istsitsíkatot here are (moccasins), put them on your feet.

ámomaie otsinán amóm ómayksikimi this is his, this lake.

áuke, ámoiaie piksiu, káɣkitsammáuau, tsáɣtau anistápsíuɣtauts now here is a bird, that you may look at it what it is.

ámomaie ómaykotsistsini here is a big strawberry.

ámomauk ittsíu, ómoɣtsauoɣkótsaitamixpi it is right here, what is the cause that he cannot breathe.

ki ámoksimáukiau, áutapótsiau and here they were, they came back with the meat.

ámoksimáie ponokáii here are elks.

ámoistsimáie, saáutsik, auáuɣsini here are some foods, go (pl.) out and get them.

áo, niskónaki, ámoiaie nitápaskok help, my younger brothers, here comes one chasing me.

ámokaie kistamó nitájotsimistakinan it is your brother-in-law here that is starving us.

ámokauk omáma óɣkotoki áukskasakíua here comes that rock running after us (incl.).

stámiskisinoaiu, ámokskáu ki anniksisk kátai autüyiks then they were known, that these were those that did not come.

ki ámokskaukiau ponokámitaiks ixtsistapinokámitaisko and these horses (that we have to-day) are descended from those many horses.

About ámokskauki, ámokskaukiau there may be some doubt, whether they belong here, or are to be considered as verbalized relative pronouns (cf. § 42). I think, however, that I have registered them in their right place.

Examples of a m a i e:

ámaie kīs here is your son-in-law.

napi, ámaie kitoɣkot ákeu partner, here is the woman I give you (or, perhaps better: here she is, I give you the woman).

ki amáie Píkséksinaitapiua itasáinixkotsiu (itasáinixkitsiu?) and these Snake Indians it were, they cried in a rush.

ki ánnimaie (kénnimaiie), amáie ninaua *and then it was, here was a chief.*  
 amáie ikanàtsinam *here is a very nice one (an.).*

ámaie paiiskiua *over there (here) is somebody corralling.*

ámaie ixtoḡkóikamotàu *by this one we (incl.) are saved.*

ániu: ámaie piskan *he said: there (here) is a 'buffalo-coral.*

Where a maie is accentuated on the second syllable, there is some doubt whether we have to do with forms belonging to a m ó, or with derivatives from o m á, which by some persons (e.g. Black-horse-rider) is pronounced a m á (see § 35).

#### § 34. a m i s t o.

The demonstrative pronoun a m i s t o has the same, or nearly the same, deixis as a m o, though it emphasizes, more than a m o does, the close real or ideal proximity to the "ego" (cf. the first two sentences of § 33).

A m i s t o is by far not so often used as a m o, from which it seems to be derived in the same way as o m i s t a from o m a (see § 36) and a n n i s t a, from a n n a (see § 38, at the end).

I noticed the following examples of its rare occurrence:

amistói imítái, spúm mòkit *you, this dog here, help me.*

áio, amistóm suyéstamiki, noḡsikimmokinàn *help us, this water-bull here, pity us (excl.).*

òki, amistómi óḡkotoki, ámoi noḡksátsis *well, this poor rock here, have this here for a robe.*

káiiuaytaua amistóksima akéksima *I wonder what is the matter with these women here.*

Verbalized forms of a m i s t o:

kókoa, amistóiaie, nitóḡkókoaisimiskàn *girl, here is this (little) one, I got belly-fat.*

einiua ámistoi auk, ikakáim *the buffalo are close by, they are many.*

einiua ámistoi auk Ixkitsíkitapiiks *the buffalo are near the Seven-persons.*

ámok Kináksisaytái ákitsiksisapistotsop, ámistoi auk sipátsiniua *we (incl.) shall move down over to Milk river (Little-creek), there close by are the better buffalo.*

ámistoi àukinai, otsipstsiksaykokàie *he (4 p.) was near by, he (4 p.) just ran close by them.*

ámistom àuk sákiauauakimàu *he (the enemy) is close by still chasing buffalo.*

ámistom àuk kitsixkàuanun *here close by is our (incl.) tribe.*

#### § 35. o m a, o m i.

If we may render a m o (§ 33) with something like *here-being, this here*, the semantic value of o m a may be defined as *there-being, that there*. In contradistinction to a m o, which always, more or less, refers to the speaker's "ego", the deixis of o m a is pronouncedly that of the third person. Where it is used anaphorically, referring to a person or thing

already mentioned before, it has often no greater deictic force than our definite article; where, on the contrary, it introduces a person or a thing not mentioned before, it may most conveniently be rendered by our indefinite article.

In the following survey of the forms of this pronoun I do not accentuate them, because in all of them the principal stress shifts from the first to the second syllable (e.g. ómá, ómí, ómiksi, ómístsi). The normal accentuation, however, is omá, omí, and óma, ómi are used only more or less emphatically. Some persons (e.g. Black-horse-rider) pronounce amá, amí, etc., instead of omá, omí, as the others do, but, speaking emphatically, they will use óma, ómi, etc., just as the others.

Sing. an.: oma, omai(a), omam(a), omak(a).

Sing. an. obv.: omi, omim(a), omik(a).

Sing. an. verbalized: omauk, omaie, omaiaie, omamauk, omamaie, omakauk.

Sing. in.: omi, omim(a), omik(a). These forms are very often used as adverbs in the sense of *there, over there*. Omik is also temporal, especially in combination with apatóxtsik (omik apatóxtsik means *then in the olden times, or a very long time ago*).

Sing. in. verbalized: omiauk, omiaie, omimauk, omimaie. Not seldom these forms have the function of predicative adverbs. So it is to be explained that they are sometimes used with animate nouns.

Plur. an.: omiksi, omiksim(a), omiksik(a).

Plur. an. verbalized: omiskkauki.

Plur. in.: omistsi, omistsim(a), omistsik(a).

Plur. in. verbalized: omistsimaie.

Examples illustrating the use of o m a, o m i :

omá, níнау nitukímiu *there was a man that camped alone.*

omá níнау ítomo *that chief (mentioned before) went first.*

omá saýkúmapiu ánistsiu omiksi ú'siks *that boy (mentioned before) said to his elder brothers (also spoken of already).*

ki omá níнау ítáinitsiu omiksisk paksikoyiskeiniks *and that man (mentioned before) would kill those that were the fattest buffalo-cows.*

ki óma kanáinakstsima ksiskstakiua ánnai kitákatoýkòkí *and you will also give me that youngest beaver (mentioned before).*

ki omí maáýsi itsitáutoyinai *and his father-in-law (mentioned before) would come to him.*

ki omí manikâpi ítótatsimiu *and there she met a young man (that there was).*

omí otsínaimoauai otoýkémaniai itáitaisiksikimsimaiinai omí inaksiksi-suyiinai *(because) their chief's wife used to make coffee for herself alone in a small coffee-pot (that there was).*

omí níétaýtai itsáupiu *he sat near the river (that there was).*

omiksi nátsitapii nínaíi sámiaua *there were two men who went out hunting.*

itsitoto omiksi pistoyiks okosoauaiks *then he came to the young ones of the night-hawks.*

ki omiksi saiäiks itomátapipstsipiua *and then he began to bring in those geese.*

ómiks nátokami imaxki(x) kinoaai nitsíniksini *over there are two mountain-sheep that I killed.*

ixtsitsistapixpiksiu omístsi pítauanokists *she then threw away those eagle-arrows (she had brushed with).*

ki omístsi matsini spóxys itoxtoma *and there were only some tongues he had hung up.*

omá isoxkémán omi komóksisakò itsínóxtom omístsi oxkiists *the youngest wife put in a round piece of meat (that there was) with the bones (mentioned before).*

omái pokáuai ánistsiixk omí oksists *that child said to his mother.*

ómaia únnašináia, áxkunaiòmiskatau *there are men over there, let us take them for husbands.*

omáia otákesinaia *those women (mentioned before).*

maukáiaksaumaxkài omáia isksínaua *why will not that bug run out?*

omáma ninau, otáisauotoxys otoxkémán, itápsopòaxtsisatsiu *when his wife did not come, that man (mentioned before) began to ask for her.*

ki omáma akékoānama itanístsiua Nāpi *and that girl told the Old Man.*

omám axxyápoxtám akéuam *a woman over there at home.*

nitsstáitapiu omám áuyiuam *that one eating is living the last of his life.*

omáma ninauam itsipúáu *that chief got up.*

Ninoxkyàioa kámosatsiu omím ponokāmitai *Bear-chief stole that horse (mentioned before).*

omím Pinápisinaikoānim ómam áitskamiu Ninoxkyàioi *that Sioux who had been fighting Bear-chief.*

itanístsiua omima matápiima *he then told the people.*

stámítòtò omím ikúnaiim *he then got to the people that were camping.*

itsínóyiu omím akéyam otsipáutsimòki *he then saw that woman that refused him.*

ki itskò omima stsikim akéima *and he went back to the other woman.*

átsitòtò omím einiim *he came again to buffalo that there were.*

omím ómaxkaiistsisim itamipikšiau *over there was a big tree, they ran up into it.*

opaksátsis ixtsitákiu omím otskíniim *she hit that horn of his with her stone-hammer.*

itauápatsimiäiks omím máksinim *then they were sorry for that carcass.*

omím ómaxksikimi stámitsüiomaxkáie *he just ran into that lake.*

itsitoto Nāpiua omima moyis *then the Old Man came to a lodge that there was.*

ómima miniima áxkitsitapaxkyoxsopa *let us (incl.) row to that island over there.*

omím mistákim ánnamaie ónokâmitasin on that mountain there are many horses.

omí otsisóykeman itsitâpipiu omím nitúmmoyim he took his youngest wife to that butte.

nitsítâisínikòk omíma páskâniim manistsixpi he then was telling me about the dance how it was.

ki omíksim skóxtsiks itsipúauyi and those that were behind rose up.

itsitótó omíksima nêpumakii he then came to some spring-birds that there were.

ki omíksima nápiksima istsipótsapaukáiautsiis then those (two) old men must stab each other in the neck.

ki itsinóyiu omíksima miksínitsimi and he saw there were some bull-berries.

nisótamitskitanâni omíksim áinakasiksim then we (excl.) left that waggon. omístsim ómaɣkotsipiists there were big willows.

ki itsitótóiaua omístsima akékânists then they came to those camps.

ki itsínima omístsima moyístsima and he saw there were lodges.

nisótamapaixkaxtoɣpinani omístsim iksisakuistsim and then it was we (excl.) sold the meat(s).

tokskáie omístsima ókoais(a)istsima one of those pieces of belly-fat.

nímoɣstuyis, nitâniixp omák akéuák I am ashamed of what that woman said to me.

omák ákauɣtâk kiniks kapséks otóksksèiks mátaɣkimist áuatsiuaie, the ancient people of long ago used to eat roseberries, hard-seed-berries, bark, black alcali.

omák saɣkúmapiu itsipim there was a boy that entered.

nitstsáitapiu omák áistauauaɣkâuak he is living the last of his life, that one that is coming this way.

omák kitsímstâma totamâtapinòkit begin holding me from that door-lodge-pole there.

itsinóyixk omíka nínaíinai he saw there a man coming.

omá nápiu itanístsiu omík úsik the old man said to that son-in-law of his.

otsinóayxi omík akéik when he saw that woman.

aíksinoásau, omík manikâpiik otokamátsimaie when they knew them, that some young man there was her lover.

omík ómaɣksiksímik ixtsitóɣtoyiu she heard him from that log there.

stámiskóyinai omík auámik otómoɣtotoɣpiixpi then that snow-shoe went back to the place whence it had come rushing along.

itókasatôm omík istí he grabbed fire that there was (i.e. he grabbed there a burning fire-stick).

omíksik kanáunistaxs itúisimii all the calves there went to drink.

itsínímaíks omístsik âpssiists then they saw those arrows.

Probably belongs here (and not in § 43):

ómístsk aisauɣkótâitsis, máɣkitapoɣs, itáumatapasâiniu those times, when he could not think how to go, he began to cry.



Verbalized forms of *o m a, o m i*:

*ómau itáupiu over there he sat down.*

*ki óm auk ákàupiu and over there he sat down.*

*kókoa, óm auk kóma girl, there is your husband.*

*ómaie matápiu there is a person.*

*nisótamĩnau ómaie sikiĩmi ponokāmita I then caught a black horse that there was.*

*ómaie manikāpi, kipipóysapot young man over there, come here for a while.*

*ómaiaie api'si that is a coyote (passing by).*

*ómaiaie nipotsiman over there is (a buffalo) that the people try to kill.*

*omyaie manikāpiĩnai there was a young man (4 p.).*

*ómaie, kinnuna aḡkauānistsiu there is the one our (incl.) father told us about.*

*nisótamotsixp ómaie sināksin I then took a piece of paper that there was: omiksiaie oḡkinna oḡsistsĩnni, itoḡkinniuaiks there were some hoofs, his necklace, he put them round her neck.*

*ki omiksaie matsaḡkúmapii stámitotoyi and some other boys came there.*

*pinanistsiksismistàt: ómiauk kitsimĩ do not think thus: there is the door.*

*no'á, ómamaie íkanatsinam mother, there is something (animate) very nice.*

*ki omámaie matstsík mātstokatau and I roped there also another one.*

*ómimaie moyis siksínikokaup over there is a black-buffalo-painted lodge.*

*ómimaje anná koḡkóá otákau over there is that one, your son's partner.*

*omiksimaie ápotskinai, nitáiaikoḡkomatananiau there were some cows, we (excl.) were going to drive them.*

*ki omiksimaie ánakāsii and there was a waggon.*

*ómamāuk kiksistoaua there is your mother.*

*ómamauk Maistópana kóma over there is Crow-arrow, your husband.*

*omámāuk kitoḡkéman, nitoḡkonoau there is your wife, I have found her.*

*ki ómamauka kitoḡkémana and over there is your wife.*

*ki ómimauk, imitaixtsiu and there it is (viz. another lodge), it is there yet.*

*isám mok, ómakaie ómaḡkainiu look (pl.), over there is a big buffalo.*

*anétakik, ómakaie ksiitápiu, áistāumaḡkau make haste, there comes a person on foot, he is running this way.*

*ómakauk annāḡka ninauaḡk there he is, who is that man.*

*ómikskauki stámoḡtsokskauōyiau then there the three went together.*

*ómikskāuki anniksisk kyáioiksk there they are, which are those bears.*

*ki ómikskāukiau áumatapōiau and there they went away.*

*ki ómikskāukiau ásepiomatōiau and over that way they started during the night.*

*ki ómikskāukiau támoḡtapauāuaḡkāiau and there they were, they then were walking about.*

There may be some doubt about the true character of *ómikskauki*, *ómikskāukiau*, but I am inclined to believe that they belong here, and are not to be considered as verbalized relative pronouns (cf. § 43).

## § 36. omista, omistsi.

The demonstrative pronoun *omista* has nearly the same semantic value as *oma*, from which it seems to be derived in the same way as *amisto* from *amo* (see § 34) and *annista* from *anna* (see § 38, at the end). If there is a slight semantic difference between *omista* and *oma*, it must be this, that the rarely used *omista* is the more emphatic of the two.

I noticed the following forms:

Sing. an.: *omista*, *omistama*.

Sing. an. obv.: *omistsi*, *omistsim*.

Sing. in.: though I have not met with it, there cannot be any doubt, that it is identical in sound with the obviative of the animate gender.

Plur. an.: *omistsiksi*.

Plur. in.: *omistsistsi*.

Some examples:

*omistá kimmátsisoxkëman únistsi sokápiists otsistotóxsists that poor second wife's elder sister had fine clothes.*

*ki áiiksisamò otsipisaiks, omistsi ksiskstakyepokaii itámsoksinoyiua and when they entered after a long while, he suddenly saw there was a beaver-child.*

*omistsiksi pokáiks ixpítsaksiu he went out with those children.*

*ki omistáma (ni) táikatsitapskò and I shall go back to the other (woman).*

*otsipis, itsinóyi u otoxkëman otsitáixtsis, ki omistsim pokáiinai when he entered, he saw his wife, while she lay there, and that one child.*

## § 37. anno.

The meaning of the stem *anno* (with shifting stress from the first to the second syllable) is *this one right here* (with a pronounced deixis of the first person). With preceding *ki* and it often combines to *kanno*.

Sing. an. in.: *anno*, *annom(a)*, *annok(a)*. These forms are also, and even especially, used as adverbs for *right here*.

Sing. an. in. verbalized: *annoiaie*, *annomaie*. Usually as predicative adverbs.

Plur. an.: *annoksi*, *annoksim(a)*, *annoksik*.

Plur. in.: *annoistsi*, *annoistsim(a)*, *annoistsik*.

Some examples:

*annó Pekániu mátaitsinikatôm Makúi-oxsokúi these Peigans do not talk about the Wolf-road.*

*annó itsapaukunáiiua, ánnikskaie áinitsiu these were the people who camped about, those were (the animals) they killed.*

*aitotóaie annó ksáxkum he came here on the ground.*

*ánnaukixk omá Nápiua, ixtsínapapauauaxkáixk annó niétaxtai there was the Old Man, he was travelling about down a river in this country.*

kitóχtsi annó niétaχtàiixk itstàiisiksiks *on top of a hill at the side of a river in this country he thought.*

ánnó ostoksisi itótskustoksiu *here on his face he is blue (literally: blue-faced).*

annó.ksiitápiu *this one right here is a man on foot (used when one is not seeing the man, but when one judges only after the tracks).*

annó ponokámita *this one right here is a horse (used when one is not seeing the horse, but only the tracks).*

omá imitáikoān ánnoistsi inoχpaipiu *the puppy jumped down from these (in.) here.*

annóistsi mistákists nitsitsitapi *I live here in these mountains.*

annóistsi mistákists itsisiu A'isinokòpiua okóai, mistákaie *in these mountains was the Inhaler's house, it was a mountain.*

niétaχtai áχké ánnoi opáixpiu ixkokátomaie *the water of the river reached to here around his waist.*

kítóχkanóχkot annóm matapiuam *I give you all the people here.*

nímátakanistsitoau annóm nókosam *I shall not consent to what my children here say.*

annóma asitápiuama *the young men here.*

annóm Pekániaua mátsitstisixp áχssi manistáχsp Okoáisau *of these Peigans there was none as good as Belly-fat.*

mátsisamòā annóm Pekániaua ináutsiua *after a short time these Peigans were hungry.*

annóm mátsitstsiuats *he is not of this people here.*

otásamayšaie, stámisksinim annóm mátsitstisipiksiuats *when he was looking at it, then he knew that the bird did not belong to this country.*

itáiaχkitsiu annóm okóai *it smoked there (perhaps better: here) in his lodge.*

omí otoχkēman áumotapàistotsiminai annóm moyis *his wife did everything she could to this lodge.*

istáii annóksim matápiks, Káiiipaiks áχkaipaskàii *the people here thought, the Grass-dancers might be dancing.*

Verbalized:

ánnoiàiē stsistsinit *cut it right here.*

ánnomaie kokóauau *this here is your (pl.) lodge.*

ánnomaie annóχk kokóau *this here is now your (pl.) lodge.*

### § 38. a n n a, a n n i.

For *that one right there* the stems a n n a, a n n i (with shifting stress from the first to the second syllable) are used. They often have the semantic value of *that other one there*. With preceding k i and they often combine to k e n n a, k e n n i.

Sing. an.: anna, annai, annam(a), annak(a).

Sing. an. verbalized: annauk(a), annaie, annaiauk, annamauk(a), annamaie, annakauk, annakaie.

Sing. an. in.: anni, annim(a), annik. Most times adverbially.

Sing. an. in. verbalized: annyauk, annyaie, annimauk, annimaie, annimaiaki, annikauk. Usually predicative adverbs.

Plur. an.: anniksi, anniksim(a), anniksik.

Plur. an. verbalized: anniksauki, anniksaie, anniksimauki, anniksimaie, anniksikauki.

Plur. in.: annistsi, annistsim(a), annistsik.

Plur. in. verbalized: annistsikaie.

Examples illustrating the use of a n n a, a n n i:

omá siksínikokàu, ki anná otaxkúinikokàu *the one had a black buffalo painted on his lodge, and the other a yellow buffalo.*

ómimaie anná koykóa otákàu *over there is that one, your son's partner.*

anná kisisa ánni áuanu *your younger brother right there said that.*

initsís anná akéu *kill that woman.*

ánna annáxkaie iikspitau Api'siyiu, ánnauka Nápiua *that one, that is very tall, (called) Wolf-robe, that is the Old Man.*

kitákstunnatsistotòk ánnà ninàuam *there is a man that will do some dangerous thing to you.*

ki anniksi (kenniksi) nitákoxpoksòmai *and with those others I shall go in.*

ki anniksi ksisàm, ksáxkumaiksi *and then there were earth-medicines (black alcali), they were earth.*

annistsi einiua oxkín, nitáinixkatoxpiau oxkatsikinan, ánnistsi mátoxtai-satsiniuaiks *there were some buffalo-bones, they were called shoulder-bones, with those they also scraped the hide.*

ki annistsi mátaskáksauatòm *and those other things he refused to eat.*

annái áxkanaikokimistotòxsiu *all the other people wore old lodges for clothing.*

tsánistapsiua annái pokáuau? *what sex is that child?*

ki óma kanáinakstsima ksiskestakiua ánnai kitákatoxkòki *and that youngest beaver, you will also give me that one.*

ánnai nitsikímmimàua *I am stingy for that one (an.).*

pináminakatòk annái itsiwanai *do not roll that gambling-wheel eastward.*

aiáu, axkúnauaipokakui annám ninauam, miskátsáksist *oh, before that man wakes up, you had better go out instead.*

annám ksikunístauam pinápanàs *that that white buffalo-calf may have no blood on it.*

kaxkitánistaua annáma matápiuama *that you may say to the people there.*

áisamo anním matsitsikin *after a long while there was another moccasin.*

napí, táksistapo, pokáupimis anniksima inákimiksima *partner, I am going away, stay with those little ones (young eagles).*

náxksistsamsàuxtapatsimàua ánnàk, ninnàk, niksistàk, niskáiks *it will be since a long time past that I did not care for those, for my father, my mother, my younger brothers.*

ánnak nóma otápisitotaksinists *that one there, my husband, his makings* (in.) *they are* (i.e. *he has made them*).

annák áistatsiuaie, mǎxksksinoaysaie *that one* (i.e. *my husband*) *wants to know it* (i.e. *the child, what sex it is*).

ánnak ánnaka nanána *there goes that terrible-looking man.*

ómistsim kikápisikinànoaists matóykotok ánnak kiksistoauàk *go and give your old boiled bones to that mother of yours.*

annák nisisàk áuaniu *that younger brother of mine is saying.*

kitáiksikimmatsistotoau ánnak nòkósak *you have done very poorly to those children of mine.*

ánnik kokúyik nayksók *when I sleep during the nights* (literally: *that I may sleep during the nights*).

ánnistsik mistsistsik ánnistsikaie tsipaxpákit *brush with those sticks that are lying there.*

ánnistsk nimátsitaisuixtàpa *I never use those things to put my food on* (belongs most probably here, and not to the relative pronoun treated in § 40).

Verbalized:

ki ánnauk (kénnauk) omá apikskéiniu *and there she was, that scabby buffalo-cow.*

annòyk nistóá ánnauk, annáyk kitóykematauayk *now I am that one that you made your wife.*

itanistsiuaie: sá, ksisto-ánnauk (ksistóá ánnauk) *then he said to him: no, you are that one.*

Nápiu-ánnauk (Nápiua ánnauk) *that one is the Old Man* (nowadays still used of a man who is not to be trusted).

ánna annáykaie iikspitau Api'siyiu, ánnauka Nápiua *that one, that is very tall; (called) Wolf-robe, that is the Old Man.*

ánnaiauk Nápiua *that is the Old Man.*

ánnauk omáspizapsapistsini itámsoksinim, amói ómaykaiaáykè otsikokótayx *then it was, when they moved one time again this way, they suddenly saw that the big water was frozen over* (they, grammatically a singular, the subject being *the ancient Peigan tribe*).

ki ánnauk, otozkikaiaisinaí, amó otápisin itozkánainiuàsiu *and that it was, that he barked running, that is why all these people turned into* ~~buffalo~~

tókskam ánnaukinai únni *one of them, that was his father.*

ki ánnýaukinai (kénnyaukinai) omi oýkóai Katoyis *there he was, their son Clot-of-blood.*

omá einiua ánnaukinai, itoi otápipiok *the buffalo were there, the leader-buffalo had taken them with him.*

omi matápi itsinóyiu ánnýaukinai otánistotòkaie *he has seen the person that has done something to him.*

kinnùna ánniäukin ánniisk otáuanistaiisk, áykstaiskimatayx ótskuisistsi

*that one is the blue-bird, our (incl.) father told us about that we (incl.) should not shoot.*

ánnaukixk omá Nápiua, ixtsinapapauauaykàixk annó niétaytai *there was the Old Man (properly: there it was that the Old Man was), he was walking about down a river in this country (ánnaukixk is a verbalized demonstrative provided with a relative suffix).*

ánnaukixk omá kimmatàpsaykùmapixk *there was a poor boy (properly: there it was that a poor boy was) (ánnaukixk as in the preceding example), ki ányaie (kénnyaie) and that's it (the whole story), and that's all. ikiákatsiua, ányaie nitáküsimau he who traps it, that is the one I shall take as a son-in-law.*

ki ánniksiäie (kénniksiäie) stuyisi kitákauatai *and those are the things (animate) you will eat during the winter.*

ómaykožkatsistüyikiks, kátsistüyikiks, anniksiäie ikáiyximü *they (grammatically a singular) liked the big heifers (and) the heifers very much.*

ómiks(i) anniksaie kiskáni *over there are your younger brothers.*

ánnistsiaie matáuatomiau *those (kinds of roots) it were, they ate also. siksiksists itoxtómiau, ánnistsiaie itsisúixtaiau they put them (their roasts) on willows, those they used for plates.*

ki ánniksaukii omiksi manikápii ixtápauauaykaiau *there were some young men, they were going about.*

ánniksauki omiksi aké, itožkánnoiau *there were some women, they assembled.*

ánniksaukiaiks itstsiuaiks *there they were, there they put it (the knife). istuyisi ánniksaukiau, nimožtauauàkimaypinàniau in winter those (horses) it were, we (excl.) chased the buffalo with.*

ániiau: ákonitsaupauop niétaytai; ánniksokiau *they said: let us (incl.) sit by the river; there they were.*

mistaputaminasožtsi ánnamaie kipitákeu *down on the other side (of that mountain-ridge) lives an old woman.*

annámaie nínu Punákiksi itáukunàiiu *long ago there was a chief who camped on Cut-bank river.*

ánnamaie ikoykóaimiu opápaukan *that was one that profited much from his dream.*

ánnimaiè, áitapaipuyiau *there it was, there they stood about.*

ki ánnimaie (kénnimaiè) áukakotsiu *and then it is that the boiling is ended (i.e. that the story is at an end).*

ki ánnimaie ákitapāxpauàniu *and there it is they will jump into (grammatically a singular).*

ánnimaiè itokóyiu Natósiu *there the Sun has a lodge.*

ánnimaie ūsi Okoáisai okóaiinai *that right there was the lodge of his son-in-law Belly-fat.*

ánnimaiàki saiitáipiniki *if you do not see anything over there.*

omím áitapioyim, ánnimaiau osótamosožkitsistamòkoaiau *the man-eater then had swallowed them that were there.*

isóoxtsima omima niétaxtaii ánniksimaie ponokáii itáipuyii *near the bank of that river there were some elks standing.*

ki ánnamauk (kénnamauk), otáiiinikai *and there he was, there he was killed by him.*

nánnaxk kozkóa? nitákitòm; otánikaie: ánnamauk *where is your son? I shall marry (him); she was told by her: there he is.*

ánnamauka Nápiua, omístatanistsixpi *there is the Old Man, I wonder what he has done.*

ánnimàukinaí, stámatsinitsiuaie *there she was, then he killed her too.*

istaxkanáutsinaí ánnimàukin initsiu *the fattest one, that is which he killed.*

ánniksimaúkaiks, mátomaisaminiuaiks *there they were, they had not been dead a long time!*

ánniksimaúkiaú, itokóiiiskáiaú *there they were, they built houses.*

Paɣsiiks ánnistsimauki kokóauaists *it is at Sweet-roots where your (pl.) lodges are.*

ánnakaie, nimoɣksksinixpinan, náɣkanistapistotoaxpinàniaú *from them (the ancient Peigans) it was, that we (excl.) learned how we (excl.) are to cure them (i.e. the germs of the snow).*

apatóɣtak ánnakaie istúnnatápsii stáaiks *it was in the olden times, that the ghosts were very dangerous.*

anákaie (= annákaie) nánàpiníu ki nánaikinakim *there is one with a man's eyes and a man's legs.*

annákaie akéua, itsipim *there is a woman, she came in.*

ánniksikaie, kanáitapiua itáutsistsisomau *there they (the piles of stones) were, behind them (literally: near them) all the people were hiding.*

amáupik, anáukau (= annákau) kinstununa *keep (pl.) quiet, there is our (incl.) elder sister.*

anákau (= annákau) Okoáisaua *there is Belly-fat.*

annákauk támatoykannitautò *there they all came up to.*

A'pekoykúminimà ánnakauk ki otákai *that was Round-cut-scabby-robe and his partner.*

anákauk (= annákauk) annáɣk nísá *there he comes, who is my son-in-law.*

ánniksikáukyau, áukanauaistoiaú *those are coming, they all are coming.*

The following examples of verbalized forms most probably belong here, and not to the relative pronoun treated in § 40:

natósiks inisau, ánnikskaukiàú áukàpsiaú *when medicine-men die, those are the ones that are bad.*

omaykinaiks ánniksikaie ámiuaiks *the old men, those were the ones he invited.*

ánniksikaie áinitsiu *those were (the animals) they (grammatically a singular) killed.*

ki ánnistsikaie (kénnistikaie) nitsitaisuixt *and those are the things I use to put my food on.*

ki nitsiksistoykotau naɣkaie (= ánnaxkaie) akéu annistsikaie kaiísau *and*

*I gave some dried meat to a certain woman that there was* (the reader will understand that the form because of which I quote this sentence is *annistskaie*; about *ánnaɣkaie* see § 40).

*manístápiksistápixp iksisakuists ánnistskaie áuaɣkoskatom all the choicest parts of the meat, those it were he gave to his father-in-law.*

A compound of *oma* and *anni* is *ománni*:

*ománni anistsis, ánnye kitákanistáinapuaú when it is this time of the year, you will look in this way in the future.*

A verbalized form of *ománni* is *ománnyaie*:

*ománnyaie kitákauánists this way you will do in the future.*

An interesting derivate from *anna*, *anní* is *annista*, *annistsi*, formed in the same way as *amisto* (§ 34) and *omista*, *omistsi* (§ 36). *Annista* is the animate form of the third person, *annistsi* functions as animate obviative and as general inanimate form (*annistsaki* is *annistsi* + the suffix *-aki*, about which see § 16). I have met with only a very few examples:

*ánnistai inákstsím áipstsikàinoau there is a small (star) scarcely seen.*

*ánnistsi koɣtókisi there is your ear (a reason to have your ear open, to be on your guard).*

*áio, ánnistsaki koɣtókis listen, there is your ear (as the preceding example).*

*ánnistsáki koɣtókioaists there is (a reason to have) your (pl.) ears (open).*



## CHAPTER IX.

### Relative pronouns and suffixes.

#### § 39. General remarks.

From the demonstrative pronouns relatives are formed by suffixation of  $-\chi k(a)$  ( $-xk$ ,  $-xka$ ) or  $-(i)sk$ , each of which has its own sphere. The suffix  $-\chi k(a)$  ( $-xk$ ,  $-xka$ ) is used only in the singular, but  $-(i)sk$  is equally to be found in the singular and the plural. From sing. *anna*, *anni*, plur. *anniksi*, *annistsi* are derived the relatives *anna $\chi k$* , *annixk*, *anni(i)sk*, *anniksisk*, *annistsisk*; from sing. *oma*, *omi*, plur. *omiksi*, *omistsi* are derived the relatives *oma $\chi k$* , *omixk*, *omi(i)sk*, *omiksisk*, *omistsisk*; from sing. *amo*, *ambi*, plur. *amoksi*, *amoistsi* are derived the relatives *amo $\chi k$* , *amoi(i)sk*, *amoksisk*, *amoistsisk*. By the side of the relative *aia $\chi k$* , *aiixk*, however, there is no corresponding demonstrative. There are also forms in  $-a\chi ks$ , which are properly to be considered as relative. Semantically it is not easy to draw a sharp line between relatives and demonstratives, because the relative pronouns are often used emphatically with a demonstrative meaning, so that in many of the examples in the following paragraphs I shall have to translate them as emphatic demonstrative pronouns. The characteristic relative forms often have an assimilating influence on their syntactical neighbourhood, communicating their endings to the noun which they define and usually precede, and also to the verb of the sentence (cf. § 18 and § 104). Eventually even other parts of speech than nouns and verbs are affected by this influence. Examples of nouns and verbs with relative endings abound in the quotations from our texts in the following paragraphs. Because the relatives, perhaps with a single exception (*aia $\chi k$* , *aiixk*), are derived from demonstratives with a pronounced local character, they share that character also. The relative pronouns are verbalized by means of the same suffixes as the demonstratives, from which they are derived. Occasionally, though not very often, interrogative pronouns are used as relatives (§ 50), but I think this use is neither very old nor quite idiomatic.

The last part of this chapter (§ 46) will be devoted to the relative suffix  $-pi$  ( $-\chi pi$ ,  $-xpi$ ), which is added to verbal forms and whose proper semantic value corresponds to our *what* in sentences as *what I have said*, and the like, though it must be translated in different ways according to the other elements contained in the verbal form. It plays a very important part in Blackfoot speech, as it is present in numerous idiomatic expressions, and has even been utilized, in combination with the compounded prefix *ots-it-*, as a means to form a certain class of local nouns (see § 8).

## § 40. annaxk, annixk, anni(i)sk.

The most common relative pronoun is derived from *anna*, *anni* (§ 38). Because of the shifting accent, which will appear from the examples given below, I shall give unaccentuated forms in the general survey.

Sing. an.: annaxk(a).

Sing. an. verbalized: annaxkauk, annaxkaie, annaxkaiaki.

Sing. in.: annixk(a).

Sing. in. verbalized: annixkaie.

Plur. an.: anniksisk.

Plur. an. verbalized: anniksiskaie.

Plur. in.: annistsisk.

Plur. in. verbalized: annistsiskaie.

Also in the singular we find the suffix *-(i)sk* attached to *anni*:

Sing. an. in.: anni(i)sk.

Sing. an. in. verbalized: anniskaie.

Examples:

nitsikstunnoau annāxka nīnauaxk *I am very much afraid of that man* (properly: *of him who is that man*).

noχkoχkókit annāxk akéuāxk *I pray you, give me that woman* (properly: *her who is that woman*).

annā annāxk nāpiuaxk? *where is that old man* (properly: *he who is that old man*)?

annāxk akékoānaxk nitómoχtanistotok ixtauákomimotseopi *that girl* (properly: *she who is that girl*) *used some love-medicine on me*.

nitákoχkit(s)ikskimatau annāxk kētokiuaχk *I shall go and shoot that prairie-chicken* (properly: *the one that is that prairie-chicken*).

annāxk kitsixkauāuaxk tsinikit *kill some one of your tribe* (properly: *which is your tribe, kill some one out of that*).

annāxk soóaxk *those who went to war*.

amóiauk annāxk otátuyiua *here is the one that is the black-fox*.

ánnaie itáupiu, annāxk kistámó *right here stays who is your brother-in-law*.

ámauk, annāxk nīnna *here is he, who is my father*.

annāxk koχkóá, ámauk Paχtsópisóaxs *this one, who is a son of yours, is False-Morning-star*.

annixk nitāxpúmmaixk nāpioyisk ikómaχko *the house which I bought is very large*.

annixk anákimatsisk nitsinixpixk ómaχko *the lamp which I saw is big*.

nitákāua imáitskamiu anniisk suiétapiisk *my partner is still fighting that person of the water* (properly: *him that is that person of the water*).

annisk opokásinisk itsiniótoinaiks *those (who are those) children took them (i.e. the shells) all away*.

ánnisk ksāχkusk nimóχtotótaki *I went to get some of that earth* (properly: *of that which is that earth*).

anniisk otáuanistaiisk *that one (i.e. the blue-bird) he told us (incl.) about.*

·ki annisk otatómotapotsinisk ákanixstainixkatain matápiu *and those [first pieces of a carcase which he brought will be called person.*

(ni)tsikókimaiaua anniksisk kiksistóauaiks *I am very angry with those (who are those) mothers of yours.*

nikáumotsaiu anniksisk kitáuksistotáuikis *I killed all those that treated you badly.*

napi, nisoyímiks nitsínitai, anniksisk kitáuksistotoki *partner, I have killed four of them, that treated you badly.*

anniksisk kátaiautüyiks *those that did not come.*

ómiiskáu ki anniksisk kyáioisk *there they are, (which are) those bears.*

anniksisk istéksinaikokàisk otsinóksoaists *the happy things of those (who are the) owners of the snake-painted lodge.*

annistsisk anákimatsistsk nitsinixpistsk ómaḡkoiau *the lamps which I saw are big.*

Verbalized forms:

annáḡ Pekánikoāḡ áinitsiuáḡ sauúmitsitapiks, ánnáḡkaie oḡsokóai *that Peigan who killed bad people, that is the one whose road it is.*

matápiu omisk ósákoōtapotsinisk ánnáḡkaie ákanixstainixkatau eini *the last pieces of a carcase which the person brought, those it is that will be called buffalo.*

ki ánnáḡkaie áistamatstoḡkatóm pitséksinaikokāupists ki kyáiekokāupists *and it is he who showed the snake-lodges and the bear-lodges.*

annáḡkaie sikotátui *there is one that is a black-fox.*

annáḡkaie kétokiu *there is one that is a prairie-chicken.*

annáḡkaie matápiu *there is one that is a person (to be afraid of).*

annáḡkaie ánnianistópakeu nitoxpokāupimau, ánnáḡkaie nimoxtákisni *such kind of woman it was I was living with, that I shall die through her.*

annáḡkaiāki kixtsipimiu sistsiu *there is one that is a spotted bird (for the suffix a ki - see § 16).*

ámanáḡkaie akéu, áisotsikáu *over there is one that is a woman, she slides* (the form ámanáḡkaie seems to be a compound of *ám* = *am* and annáḡkaie).

ánnamanáḡkaie A'isinokōpiu *there is the one, that is the Inhaler (to be afraid of) (ánnamanáḡkaie contains ánnam, i.e. anna + -m, and annáḡkaie).*

ánnáḡkauk Okinaua *that must be Breast-man.*

napi, ánnáḡkauk kitoḡkéman *partner, there goes your wife.*

ki ánnáḡkāukaia O'tsiskāpoḡpa *and that must have been Short-ribs (-ia seems to be the demonstrative suffix mentioned in § 32, added to the verbalized relative ánnáḡkauka = ánnáḡkauk).*

ánnixkaie ánoḡk-ksistsikúixk nimoxtaistunnōanāni isistsiks *that is why nowadays we (excl.) are afraid of wolverines.*

ánnim ánnixkaie áḡkéu *there it is where is a water.*

áísamöyi ámo annixkaie piskán a long time ago it was, that here was a corral.

ánnixkaie nimoxtsipi that is it, why I entered.

annáyk nitákaua omima miniima anniskaie kyaióyinai otsinik that partner of mine has been killed by a bear that was there on that island.

anniskaie ksikúnistain, sokápiitaysaie there is a white buffalo-calf, that it may be skinned well.

anniskaie makápsin, otsinik there was a bad one, she was killed by him.

anniksiskaie kstsii nitoxkóniman; annáyka opokásinayka ixtaxkixtsiua I found there some shells (that there were); those children crowded together and took them away.

kokúyi anniksiskaie manikápi itsinsimi, nisókásinànists during the night there were some young men, they burned up our (excl.) dresses.

#### § 41. aiaɣk, aiixk.

Equivalent to, but by far not so usual as, annaɣk, annixk is the relative pronoun an. aiaɣk, in. aiixk. From our texts I noticed two places where the inanimate form occurs:

á, ánnayks áiixk otákayküyixk yes, this is that round hill (properly: that which is that round hill).

á, ámoɣkayks áiixk ákaipisksinixk yes, this is that old corraling-place (properly: that which is that old corraling-place).

#### § 42. amoyk, amoi(i)sk.

Here we have to do with relative derivatives from the demonstrative pronoun amo (§ 33). The agent shifts from the first to the second syllable.

Sing. an. in.: amoyk, amoi(i)sk.

Sing. an. in. verbalized: amoykauk, amoykaie.

Plur. an.: amoksisk.

Plur. an. verbalized: amoksiskaie.

Plur. in.: amoistsisk.

Plur. in. verbalized: amoistsiskaie.

Examples:

áɣsa ákokoxtaiinitaxpi amóyk einiuaɣk? what can these (which are these) buffalo be killed with?

mátsitápyakëu amóyk nitoxkëmahayk this (one who is) my wife is not a real woman.

amóyk pokáuayk saykëmapiuâsis if this (one which is this) child turns out to be a boy.

stáau amóyk nitáuauaiâkiokayk this one that hits me is a ghost.

amóyk ksáɣkuma nitâiâɣto(k) this (which is this) earth hears me.

amóyk nitotômitsiniksini saiâinisoytsi itstsiu this (which is this) my first story happened in the lower country.

ámoyk áuaistsiksisau (*which is*) *this (big herd of buffalo) is coming towards the camp.*

nitákozkosksinauaua amóyk aisáuypistsapiksistakiuayk *I shall find out this one who is scattering things about.*

nókosaki, amóia itsiwanaie, amóyk pinápoxtsk pinoxtsinakatok *my children, here is a gambling-wheel, do not roll this here eastward.*

ki amóyk ksáykum istožkanáitapiua niksokoa *and all the people of this (which is this) earth are my kindred.*

ki amóyk kokúyixk otsítóžkóyixpi, áikamotáu mážksotážp *and this night, when he got something to eat, he was saved by having something to eat.*

amóyk istuyiixk ánniaie niétaytau ixtauámisámiu (*during this which was*) *that winter there was a river they would go up from to hunt.*

ki annóyk kitákozkotožpinana amóyk nipáskanani now, we (excl.) *shall give you this (which is this) dance of ours (literally: of mine).*

ánnamaie nitókskam nánoyiu amóisk Áisopumstáyisk *that was the only one who saw this (one that is the) Wind-maker.*

omím, otsítóžkotážpi, itóžtoyiu amóisk ainixkín *where she cut wood, there she heard someone that was singing.*

támsokožtsimiu omá akéu, amóisk áuanín *then that woman suddenly heard, there was someone saying.*

ákopitsápiksistsiu amóisk nitsinikisk *he will throw this one, that killed me out of the water.*

niksista nitánik, nážkotomoàipiksistays amóksisk osákisk *my mother told me, that I should gather up these (which are these) pieces of back-fat.*

amóksisk apí'siks nitsautókiau *it were these wolves that pulled me out.*

amóksisk akéuaki, kanistsixpuauaie mataniststsik *these women here, lie down again in the same way as you were lying down before (literally: look again in the same way as if you were looking).*

Verbalized forms:

há, nistamóa opískanhi amóykauk *yes, my brother-in-law's corralling-place, that is what this is.*

ámoykaie nitsistsitožkoisksinixp pisátapiu nitsápsin nitsitapisin *this it is what I know the first wonderful thing I have seen in my life-time.*

ki amóykaie ixtsistapitstsiu okám *and this it is that the medicine-lodge started from.*

anétakit, apítsisoòt, amóistsiskaie ápsii *hurry up, come out of the water, here it is that there are some arrows.*

#### § 43. o m a ž k, o m i x k, ò m i (i) s k.

In this paragraph I shall treat relative derivatives of the demonstrative pronoun o m a, o m i (§ 35). The accent shifts from the first to the second syllable.

Sing. an.: o m a ž k.

Sing. an. obv.: omixk, omi(i)sk.

Sing. an. verbalized: omaɣkauk(a).

Sing. an. obv. verbalized: omiskaukin(ai).

Sing. in.: omixk, omi(i)sk. The form omixk is most times used as a local adverb in the sense of *that way*, or the like.

Sing. in. verbalized: omixkaie.

Plur. an.: omiksisk.

Plur. in.: omistsisk.

Examples:

ki ómaɣk inákstimaɣk niksistaɣk kitáksipunixtat *and I shall pay you (that one who is) my youngest mother.*

áuauátsinam omáɣk *that one there is moving.*

ómaɣk ómaɣksimaɣk otokáni ámo ákitstsiua *the scalp of that one who is the eldest will be right here.*

omáɣka nínsta *(that one who is) that elder sister of mine.*

otánik omiisk kyáioiisk *he was told by (that one which was) that bear.*

ksikixkiniŋai omisk itoyiisk *it was a white-headed eagle that had its nest there.*

otáisksinóɣsaie omisk otaykstánisk *when he knew the one that he had killed.*

matápiu omisk osákoòtapotsinisk *the last pieces of a carcass which the person brought.*

ásáninai omiisk ixtsóksksináɣpi *it was red paint; he was painted with.*

annóɣk omiksisk nisisisk ixkitsiketapii *now those (who are those) younger brothers of mine are seven.*

aiskótos omiksisk pokáisk *when those (who are those) children come back.*

ki tókskama omiksisk ponokáisk áistapokskasisk ixpókiuo *and the other one went after those of the elks that were running away.*

omiksisk otsixkaniks itáunimiuáiks *they would be in a hurry for those robes of theirs (to tan them).*

omistsisk oksimistanistsi *the things he wished for (literally: the things he thought of).*

omistsisk kómoksisakuists ómoɣtaikampstauaiákiokoiaiu *she used to throw (those which were) the round pieces of meat quickly in at them.*

Verbalized forms:

ki ómaɣkauk áiistapò *and there, where he was, he went away.*

mátsitomátsòo, ki ómaɣkauk *then he went on another raid, and there (it was that) he went.*

ki ómaɣkauka Nápiua *and there (it was that) the Old Man went.*

ki ómiskaukin otókàii, áaɣkaiin *and then there (it was that) his partner went, he (4 p.) was on his way home.*

ómiskaukinai itáumatomaɣkaiinai *and over that way (it was that) he (4 p.) went off on a run.*

§ 44. *annoχk, anstoχk.*

A relative derivate from *anno* (§ 37) is *annoχk(a)*, nearly always used as a temporal adverb (*now*), except in such expressions as *annoχk-ksistsikúixk to-day*, *annoχk-kokúixk this night*, and the like, in which *annoχk* is a true relative pronoun, intimately belonging to the noun it defines. The verbalized forms of *annoχk* are *annoχkauk*, *annoχkaie* (examples of this verbal use will be given in § 122, because *annoχkauk*, *annoχkaie* are rather to be considered as verbalized adverbs than as verbalized relative pronouns).

A formal relative is also *anstoχk just now*. Its fuller form must have been *annistóχk*, a relative derivate from a demonstrative stem *annisto*, which itself will be derived from *anno* in the same way as *amisto* from *amo* (§ 34), *omista* from *oma* (§ 36), *annista* from *anna* (§ 38, at the end).

I must confine myself here to give some examples of the use of *annoχk* as a relative pronoun:

*ki omám apíkskèiniuam sotámikamotàu, annoχk istuyii omá mánikâpiua áitsinikatsiuaie, máχsinipitsai and that scabby buffalo-cow was then saved, which that young man (when it was) this last winter had been talking about, that she would freeze.*

*matsikíua, annoχk ksisk(an)(i)äutuniixk nitákoχkuini there is nothing to prevent that I shall die now in the morning (or, rather: when it is this morning).*

*annoχk-ksistsikúi mínatsitsis. áχkskúnaki to-day (better: now while it is this present day) there must be nobody shooting any more.*

*ännixkàie annoχk-ksistsikúixk nimoχtaistunnòanàni isistsiks that is why nowadays we (excl.) are afraid of wolverines.*

*annoχk-ksistsikúixk ákataiaio to-day we (incl.) shall make the circle in approaching the camp.*

*nánistoχtsimmatóχp, annoχka-ksistsikúixk ámoχkauk kitsitsinik and now to-day I tell it to you the way that I heard it.*

*nitánistau nipúpaukan annoχk-kókuyi I told him what I have dreamt to-night (better: while it was this night, or something like it).*

*annoχk-kokúixk mátáksikamotáuats now to-night (or: while it is this night) she will not be saved.*

*nitákotsitsimists annoχk-kàioküixk this night (or, more accurately: while it is this night) I shall cause to come (animals for food) (annoχk-kàioküixk contains the durative infix -ai-, about which see § 89).*

*áuke, annoχk áiáksikòkuixk ákokakixkixtsixp now, this coming night (or: while it will be this night) we (incl.) shall watch it (áiáksikòkuixp contains the durative prefix ai- treated in § 89; and the prefix ak-, aks-, about which see § 92).*

## § 45. Forms in -aχks.

In this paragraph I shall give some examples of relative forms in -aχks, based on the demonstrative pronouns in a similar way as the relatives treated in the preceding paragraphs.

â, âmoχkayks âiixk âkaipisksinixk *yes, (which is) this is that (which is that) old corraling-place.* The form âmoχkayks is, from a morphological standpoint, to be looked upon as a double relative (cf. § 42).

âmoksayks aχkâumainitâyii *these here (properly: who are these here) must be crazy.* The form âmoksayks is derived from âmoks = âmoksi an. pl. of a m o, treated in § 33.

â'eâ, âmoksayks nitsimatoχtsinêts *alas, for these it was, that I was nearly drowned.* As the preceding example.

In the next following cases we have to do with forms derived from o m a, o m i (see § 35):

omâayks matsoâpanikâpiu, ânistau Otskûski *there was (who was) a fine young man, he was called Blue-face.*

omâayks ninau sâmiiixk *there was (one who was) a chief that hunted.*

omâayks akêu, aχpatômiu *there was a woman who had a side-husband.*

omâayks kipitâkeu, itotôχkoχtau *there was an old woman, she went after wood.*

hâ, ômiaχks ixtoχkûmiu *ah, for that one it is he makes noise (ômiaχks refers to a fourth person, whereas omâayks represents the third person).*

â, ômaiaχks piksî ixtâuâniua *yes, that is a bird that is flying by.* The form ômaiaχks is based on o m a, extended by the suffix -i (a) (see § 32 and § 35).

ki omâmayks ninuam itsipûau *and that man there got up.* The form omâmayks is based on o m a, extended by the suffix -m (a) (see § 32 and § 35).

Forms derived from a n n a, a n n i (see § 38):

â, annayks âiixk otâkaykûyixk *yes, this is that round hill.*

ki ânniaχks (kénnyaχks) itsisiniotoyiuaie *and then it was that the caught him.*

ki ânnyaχks (kénnyaχks) âiiksisamo, ânni otsitauanistotôixp omî ūs *and then it was a long time that his son-in-law treated him that way.*

ânnayks, otsinaksi *then it was, that he got thirsty.*

It will be seen from the sentences quoted above that the forms in -aχks, though morphologically relative, may conveniently be rendered by demonstratives.

## § 46. The relative suffix -p i (-χp i, -xp i).

A very important part in Blackfoot syntax is played by the suffix -p i (-χp i, -xp i), which has the proper value of a relative *what*, and transforms the verbum finitum into a relative dependent sentence. It is, however, to be translated in different ways according to the other elements contained



in the verbal form. It would require special investigations which exceed the scope of this concise grammar, and therefore I confine myself to some examples apt to illustrate its use:

nímox̣tstuyis, nítániix̣p omák akéuàk *I am ashamed of what that woman said to me* (notice the loss of the final *i* in nítániix̣p = nítániix̣pi).

otánix̣p kisa, áitoxp̣okiap̣aipuyit *what your son-in-law says, you must repeat right after him* (otánix̣p = otániix̣pi).

amọ́zk nitáiạ̄ẓtsix̣pix̣k *this what I heard* (- x k in nitáiạ̄ẓtsix̣pix̣k is the relative suffix treated in § 39).

(i)kamọ́zkitstsix̣ki, kinox̣táksipaskạ̀ẓpi *there might be someone that you might dance for*.

nátokaie annọ́zk kitáuatoẓpi *the two things which you eat now* (literally: *what you eat now*).

amóistsi kitsauatoẓpists tská kitạ́ẓsitsix̣p, amóistsi kitsékitskatoẓpists ki kikátau kitskatoẓpists? *which of these (two kinds of pieces) that you ate do you like best, these that you vomited up, or these that you did not vomit up?* (notice the nominal inanimate plural ending of the - p i -forms).

it̄̄ẓkunaistau, mạ́zkakayisi otáitotuisapināuspiks *then they* (grammatically a singular) *all thought that they might have many of those, they had to imitate in dressing* (here we have an animate plural of the - p i -form, because what is to be imitated in dressing are the lovers):

otáuani totọ̀ẓpi kokósinuniks *what he was doing to our* (incl.) *children*.

omát̄̄ẓkokoauaiksauaie, mạ́ẓksoatọ̀ẓpi *he would not give them anything that they might eat* (here the - p i -form has a verbal plural ending).

itò̄̄tstuyiu, ki it̄̄ẓkúnai puinām mạ́ẓksoat̄̄ẓpi *then the winter came on, and all the people* (grammatically a singular) *suffered for something that they might eat*.

When the verbal form to which the suffix - p i, is added contains the prefix i t -, referring to a certain place or time, or to certain circumstances, the Blackfoot construction must be rendered in English by a dependent phrase containing *where* or *when*, respectively:

nikáit̄̄ẓpatsistọ̀ẓpi *where I shot him down*.

nimátatsksinix̣pa, nitsitapauauaẓkax̣pi *I did not know any more, where I was going to*.

otsitopix̣pi *where they had been sitting* (notice the verbal plural ending).

otsitomaimikoẓpi *where the snow was very deep*.

otsitomaispī̄ẓpi *where it was very high*.

annó Natokyókasi niétax̣tai otsitsists̄̄ẓtax̣p *this Two-Medicine river here, where it enters the forest* (otsitsists̄̄ẓtax̣p = otsitsists̄̄ẓtax̣pi).

saiáiks otsitautoẓpi *when the geese come* (i.e. March) (though saiáiks is a plural, the verbal form is not pluralized).

ó̄̄staiapists̄̄ix̣p pitséksinaiks *when the snakes go blind* (i.e. August) (-ix̣p = -ix̣pi).

Very common idiomatic expressions are the verbal forms containing the prefix *moxt-* and the suffix *-pi* at the same time, e.g.:

*ómoxtàkoχkùienixpi* *what he will die with.*

*eini ómoχtapakaìèpi* *where there were many buffalo along.*

*nimàtsksinixpa amók nimoxtòtoχpi* *I did not know the way along which I came.*

*omim ómoχtskoχpi itotóyinai* *he (4 p.) went to (the place) from where she had turned back.*

The verbal forms in *-pi* containing the prefix *manist-* (*anist-*) correspond to English phrases with the relative *how*, e.g.:

*A'kai-Pekàniua manistápauauatotsp, manistáyixpi, ómoχtáyospists, onóχkoχtaitámispists, manistáuauaχkautsiixp, manistáikoānixpi, ki manis-táisokàsिमixpi, nistóa ninóχkanistāχtsimātaχpi* *how the ancient Peigans moved about, how they ate, the things they cooked with, the things they had happy times with, how they fought in war, how they played, and how they dressed, the way I heard about them* (this sentence illustrates various uses of the suffix).

*omá ninau opápaukani, ki manistoχkoāitsixpiài* *the dream of a man that there was, and how he profited by it.*

*àkéks itáitotuisapinàusiau otókamàtsimóauaiks, manistápainauspiaiks* *the women dressed like their lovers, how they dressed* (*manistap- = manist-*) (notice the animate plural *manistápainauspiaiks*: what is imitated in dressing are the lovers).

*nimàtsksinixp, nanistópamoχpi* *I did not know, how I came across (the river).*

*anistsinitaχpiu* *how they killed her* (notice the plural ending).

## CHAPTER X.

### Interrogative pronouns.

#### § 47. *who* and *what*.

For *who* the Peigans use *taká* (*taká*) and *taxká*, without any difference, when speaking about persons, but of animals, I am told, only *taxká* is used. This latter statement, however, needs verification. By the side of these forms an obsolete *saká* was mentioned to me, but I never met it in any old story. The verbalized form of *taká* is *takáts*, and also of *saká* there must have been a verbal *sakáts*. We shall see in § 124 that *taká* (*taká*) is also used for *because*, a curious fact that I cannot explain, though it certainly is a special case of the occasional use of interrogative pronouns as relative pronouns illustrated by some examples in § 50.

For *what* there are two different words, viz. *áχsa* and *tsá(á)*. In many cases the latter corresponds also to the inanimate *which* (see § 48), in other cases it is most conveniently rendered by *how* (see § 121). In dependent questions we find *tsáχtau* instead of *tsá(á)* (see § 51). Both *áχsa* and *tsá(á)* may be verbalized: *áχsaats* (*áχsáts*), *tsáie* (*tsáyi*).

Examples of *taká* (*taká*) *who* and *taxká* *who*:

*á, taká annáχk ninauáχk? yes, who is it that is the chief? (i.e.: who is the chief?).*

*taká áuatsàpsiuá? akéks who is a fool? women.*

*taká kí'sa? who is your elder brother?*

*annái áatsistau taká kitoχkok? who gave you that rabbit?*

*taká nitsinoáua? whom did I see?*

*taká oχkói ótásaie? whose son's horse is it?*

*taká ánistotsimatsaie (or: ánistotsimaie) who has done it?*

*tayká kitápasammauá? whom are you looking after?*

*tayká annáχk kinóχksisókoáuaχk? who is it who fed you (pl.)?*

Examples of *áχsa* *what*:

*ki omá ksistóá, ki áχsa kitsikimmoki? and you, what are you pitied by?*

*áχsa kímoχtápoχp? what did you travel for?*

*áχsa kitákietafóχp? what will you use as a saddle?*

*áχsa kitánistoχpuauá? what are you (pl.) talking about?*

*áχsa kitáuatoχpuai? what do you (pl.) eat?*

*áχsa ákokoχtáiniitaxpi amóχk einiuaχk? what can these buffalo be killed with?*

*áχsa kitómoχtsauaipuixpa? what is the reason that you never talk?*

áŷsa káŷtomotsaŷpi? *what is it you could have conquered him with? (i.e.: how could you have conquered him?).*

áuke, áŷsa kimoŷtauàtsimaŷp? *now, what did you invite (us) for? (i.e.: why did you invite?).*

áŷsaats? *what is that?*

itanistsiuàie: áŷsàts? *he then said to him: what is the matter?*

Examples of ts á (á) *what:*

tsá kanistápapauàuaŷkaŷpa? *what are you walking about for?*

tsáa kanistápapauànixpa? *what are you talking about?*

tsá áŷkanistapsòp? *what shall we (incl.) be? (perhaps better: according to what is it, that we shall be?).*

áuke, tsániu annáŷk àkéuaŷk? *now, what did that woman say? (tsániu = tsá ániu).*

tsánistaua kiksista? *what is your mother called? (tsánistaua = tsá ánistaua).*

#### § 48. *which.*

The following pronouns have a distinctly local character, and often have the semantic value of *where-being*, or *where is* (cf. § 49).

Sing. an.: táa, táatapoxta; taiá (of living beings when moving); tamá (tamá), tamátapoxta (tamátapoxta) (of living beings when not moving, and of things belonging to the animate class).

Sing. in.: tsá(á) (also used for *what*, see § 47); tsiá, tsiátapoxtsi; tsimá, tsimátapoxtsi; tská. Tsimá (tsíma) is also very usual as adverb with the meaning *where*, in which case it may, of course, also be used with words of the animate class. In the same way the relative *where* may be expressed by tsimá. Tská pretty often means *which way*, in *which* direction. For the adverbial uses of the inanimate interrogatives mentioned here see § 121.

Sing. in. in a dependent question: tsáŷtau, tsiáŷtau, tsimáŷtau. About these forms see § 51, where there are given some examples of their use.

Sing. in. verbalized: tsiáie, tsiskáie, tsimáie.

Plur. an.: tsiksiá, tsiksimá, tsiksiká. As relatives occur tsiksimáiks, tsiksikáiks. The forms tsiksimá, tsiksimáiks would seem not to be used of living beings when moving.

Plur. in.: tsistsiá, tsistsimá.

Concerning the occasional use of interrogative pronouns as relative pronouns see § 50.

Examples of táa, táatapoxta *which* (an.):

táa kitáiaŷsimmaua? *which (person, or animal, or tool) do you like best?*

táa ákotò? *which of them will come?*

táa kitsínaim? *which is your chief?*

amóksi kokósiks táa kinóŷkakimmok? *which of these your children pities you?*

matánistsiu opitámi: táa koŷkóa? *he said again to his old woman: which (of the two) is your son?*

táatapoxta ákèu? *which woman?*

Examples of t a i á *which (an.):*

taiá ponokâmita? *which horse?* (referring to horses running about).

âisamipaskâu; otânik: taiá koẏkôa? (*the buffalo*) danced a long time; he was told by (his father-in-law): *which (of the dancing buffalo) is your son?*

Examples of t a m á, t a m á t a p o x t a *which (an.):*

tamá ponokâmita? *which horse?* (referring to horses standing still or lying down).

tamá ákanixstainixkataua einiu? *which (of the two that were killed and butchered) will be called buffalo?*

tamá kitoẏkáksâkin? *which axe (out of two or more) is yours?*

tamátapoxta ixtâikayksiststakiopi? *which saw (out of two or more)?*

tamátapoxta ákèu? *which woman?*

Example of t s á (â) *which (in.):*

tsâa kitâiaẏsitsixpa? *which do you like best?* (speaking, e.g., of two coats).

Example of t s i á *which (in.):*

tsiá aẏkúmaiskapiu, osâipokomistsimâni ki aẏkitsii? *which (of the two) is strongest, her puff of smoke, or the smoke (of the rotten log)?*

Examples of t s i m á, t s i m á t a p o x t s i *which (in.):*

tsimá okôauai omiksi kyâioiks? *which is the lodge of those bears?*

tsimá asópâtsis kitsitâupixpa? *which seat were you sitting on?*

tsimátapoxtsi kitóksin? *which of the beds is yours? (which is your bed?).*

Examples of t s k á *which (in.):*

tská kinóẏksinixkásoau *which may be your name?*

amóistsi kitsauatoẏpists tská kitâẏsitsixp? *which of the two that you ate do you like best?*

tská kitâiaẏsitsixpa? *which do you like best?* (speaking, e.g., of two roads).

Examples of animate and inanimate plural-forms of *which*:

tsikseá (= tsiksiá) istoâiks kitákotoaua? *which knives will you take?* (notice the absence of the plural-sign in the verb!).

tsikseá (= tsiksiá) apiks? *which ropes?*

tsikseá (= tsiksiá) kôtâiks? *which horses are yours? (which are your horses?)* (used when they are moving).

tsiksimá kôtâiks? *which horses are yours? (which are your horses?)* (used when they are not moving).

tsiksiká? *where are they (an.)?*

tsistseá (= tsistsiá) noẏtsipaxpâkixpa (also: náẏkoẏtsipaxpâki)? *with which arrows shall I brush?*

tsistseá (= tsistsiá) ataksâksists kitákotsixpa? *which boxes will you take?* (no plural-sign in the verb!).

tsistsimá kitóksists? *which beds are yours? (which are your beds?).*

There is a great number of interrogative words derived from t s á (â).

Some of them are: tsánistapsiu (an.) *what kind of person is he?* (cf. a sentence as: tsá kinóxkanistaps? *what kind of being are you?*), tsánistapiu (in.) *what kind of thing is it?*; tsánistsinam (an.) tsánistsinatsiu (tsanistsinatsiua) (in.) *what colour is he, or it?*; tsánitsima (an.), tsánitsoa (tsánitsuyi) (in.) *how many?*; tsanitsixtsáuats (an.), tsanitsóytoxpat (in.) *how much does he, or it, cost?*; tsánistsi when? (in the past), tsánistsís when? (in the future).

A few examples of the use of such interrogative words will suffice:

tsánistapsiua annái pokáuai? *what sex is that child?*

tsánistapiu anní kitáuaskapatoxpi? *what is it that you are dragging?*

tsánistapi kitákoxpakitopixpa? *what is it you will ride with?*

tsánistápitapiuauks? *what kind of people are they?*

tsánistapistotsimmatsiksists? *how did he make them* (in.)? (the text has tsánitap-, which must be wrong).

ki tsánistsinami kitáixkitopixp? *and what colour (of horse) will you ride on?*

tsánitsóa otsókànists? *how many times did he sleep? (how many were his sleeps?).*

ki tsánitsuyi kokúyi kitákitsókaxp? *and how many nights will you sleep (in this lodge)?*

#### § 49. where-being.

In a still higher degree than with the interrogative pronouns treated in the foregoing paragraph a strictly local character is observable in the case of ná n n a x k, ná n n i x k *where-being*. This pronoun is only used of persons and things when absent. It contains the relative endings - x k (- x k) and - s k, and has the power to communicate them to the verb. I noticed the following forms:

Sing. an.: ná n n a x k.

Sing. in.: ná n n i x k.

Plur. an.: ná n n i k s i s k.

Plur. in.: ná n n i s t s i s k.

By the side of ná n n a x k occasionally a ná n n a x k is heard, which might suggest the conjecture, that this pronoun is based on the interrogative adverb a n n á *where* (verbalized ánnátsik, or ánnátsiks; in dependent questions náxtau from annáxtau), which will be treated in § 121.

An equivalent of ná n n a x k is ná m a x k, but I have no sufficient materials at my disposal to give a complete list of its forms.

Examples of ná n n a x k, ná n n i x k:

ná n n a x k ko x k ó a? *where is your son?*

ná n n a x k k i s t a? *where is your mother?*

áná n n a x k (áná n n a x k) ná p i u a x k? *where is the old man?*

ná n n i x k n i t ó k s i n? *where is my bed?*

ná n n i k s i s k p o n o k á m i t a i k s? *where are the horses?*

nánniksisk kitáiksikokixpinanisk? *where are those robes you were going to get for us (excl.)?*

nánnistsisk spiksinaksists? *where are the books?*

Examples of *n á m a χ k*:

námaχk omá akéua? *where is that woman?*

námaχk Maistákeua? *where is Crow-woman?*

#### § 50. The occasional use of interrogatives as relatives.

As I have stated above (§ 39), the interrogative pronouns once in a while will function as relative pronouns. Examples:

áistsimimiuáie, taká makápsuia *she hated him, who was bad (to look at).*

As taká is also used as a conjunction with the meaning *because* (§ 124), it would be allowed, perhaps, to translate: *because he was bad (to look at).*

nitáutamixsamau, tamá óχkotok *I looked up at him, who (then) was a rock.*

tsáyi maistóyi *which was a crow (i.e.: which turned into a crow)* (tsáyi is a verbalized form of tsáa).

amóiauk, isátsik, tsíáie motokân *here it is, look (pl.) at it, which is hair* (tsíáie is a verbalized form of tsíá).

stámitotóiau, tsiskáie amáipitákein *then they came to that which was a very old woman* (tsiskáie is a verbal form containing the relative suffix -sk).

ki itsistapokskasinai, tsiskáie isistsinai *and then she (4 p.) ran away, who was a wolverine* (tsiskáie as above).

itoχkónoyuáie, tsmáie inaksípokainai *then she found him, which was a little child* (tsimáie is a verbalized form of tsmá).

ikyáiaχkonoyuáie, tsmáie áχkinakoχkitsinai *she finally found him, which was lying there and had a big belly* (tsimáie as above).

Otskúskia xipókisáχpaipiuáie, tsikskáiks eini *Blue-face jumped out after them, which were buffalo* (tsikskáiks = tsiksikáiks).

nisótamepuau, nitsitsitotáu, tsiksimáiks sikskimiau *I then got up. I then went to them, which were black rocks.*

#### § 51. The suffix -χtau in dependent questions.

A pronominal suffix used in dependent questions is -χtau (-χtaua, -χtauts, -χtautsiks). The pronominal forms extended by this suffix often communicate it to the verbal predicate. Even if not accompanied by a pronoun containing the dependent interrogative suffix, the verbal predicate of a dependent question will take the same ending.

Examples of dependent interrogative pronouns:

tsáχtau (ni)tákanistóχpaχtau *(I wonder) how I shall be able to go there.*

tsáχtaua ákoχkanistóχkototoauaχtaua *(I wonder) how we (incl.) shall be able to get them (an.).*

áuke, ámosfera piksiu, káχkitsammáuau, tsáχtau anistápsiuáχtauts *now, here is a bird, that you may look at it what it is.*

tsiáχtau nitákauatoχpaχtau annóχk istuyiixk (*I do not know*) *where it is, that I shall have to eat now during the winter.*

nitákitskskàsixp, tsimáχtau ákaχsiuáχtau amóistsi kitákapotsists *I shall decide, which of the two, that you will bring pieces of meat from, is best.*

tamáikinisà, tsimáχtau nóχkaitapoáχtau *poor thing, where she is going to.*

kiksista pókisaksist, káχkitsammaua, tsimáχtau itapóáχtautsiks *go out after your mother, that you may look whither she went.*

Examples of verbal forms containing the dependent interrogative suffix, though not accompanied by a pronoun containing that suffix:

kaiiuaχtaua amistóksima akéksima (*I wonder*) *what is the matter with these women.*

áikiuaχtau amóksi kipitákeks (*I wonder*) *what these old women will be doing.*

áikiuaχtauts(iks) *what will be the matter with him.*

mátsikiuaχtaua Nápiua (*I wonder*) *whether there is nothing the matter with the Old Man.*



## CHAPTER XI.

### Indefinite pronouns.

#### § 52. a certain one.

Of the indefinite pronouns I mention in the first place the very usual áiaua, which may be rendered by a *certain one*, or *so-and-so*. Some examples will illustrate its use:

kanáitapiua ákstamsksnim áiaua áxkiskumoau *then everybody would know, so-and-so had a wife sent home to him.*

áiaua iníu, mátsikamotáu *a certain one is dying, he too will be saved.*

áiaua itsinitau *so-and-so was killed.*

ámauk áiau otokâni *this is so-and-so's scalp.*

áiaua otokâni ámo nitákitakannixp *here I will sew that certain one's scalp.*

#### § 53. other, another.

For *other* (*another*) we find stsíki, stsíka, stsík as an independent word, but as a prefix, attached to nouns and verbs, măt (s-) is used. Very usual is mătstsíki, i.e. stsíki with măt- prefixed to it. Both stsíki and mătstsíki may be extended by a demonstrative suffix (cf. § 32). The plural of stsíki, viz. an. stsíkiks, in. stsíkists, is to be rendered by *some*, or *some others*, according to the context. By the side of stsíki, etc., also forms with initial *i* occur (istsíki, etc.).

Probably the mutual relation of stsík(a) and stsíki is the same as, e.g., that of niskána : niskáni *my younger brother*, not as that of, e.g. omá : omí (§ 35). In other words: the general form is stsíki, which may be used absolute, but *must* be used as obviative, whereas stsík(a) is confined to the third person. I have still to add that the form stsíki is indifferent to gender, but that stsík(a) is used only of animate beings.

Examples of stsíka (absolute animate):

kí omá stsíka mâtôtsimaie únnópânists *and another took also his quiver and arrows (from him).*

kí amói stsíka matápiua otokâni sâautomoyiuaie *and these other people took his scalp.*

stsíka mâtóxkotótaua *some have got no wood.*

kí omá stsíka nitsítaxtsoautasiuanâtau *and I led the other horse along instead.*

kí omá stsíka manistskotoxsi, itsinóyiu pikséksinaiks manistákaièpi *and when that other one came back, he saw a great many snakes.*

Examples of *st s i k* (absolute animate):

ki omá stsík áskχsaioχtoχkoχsiu, sakiáupis moyisi, sauóχts ákitsisoinoyiu-  
aie and another person who is always sick, when he is still sitting in the  
lodge, will see him through the lodge outside.

omá istsík stámanuia another one then said.

ki omámaie matstsík mátsitokatau and I roped there also another one.

ki omá istsík nimátoχtsitskámachpi and this is how I got into a fight with  
that other one.

omá matstsík áistamatsipiksiu then another one will strike (in base-ball).

ki ánnáie stsíkai kanáinipiök and bring (pl.) all those others (collective)  
down (notice the demonstrative suffix -ai).

ki omáia stsíkai otákesini ki itomátapömiskáua and all the other women  
(collective) there began to select husbands (as the foregoing example).

Examples of *st s i k i* (absolute animate):

ki omá stsíki áuaniu and the other one said.

ki omá stsíki ákstamatomatapömachkau and the other one runs the second  
time.

Sometimes *st s i k i* (absolute animate) has the value of a plural:

ki amóksi stsíki nánistáinixkatanàni miómitaiks and these other (horses)  
that we (excl.) call the hard dogs.

ki omíksimaie stsíki matáinakàsi and there was another waggon.

nitáistamatoχtò stsíki ikýákàtsi I then go and get another pair of traps.

Examples of *st s i k i* (obviative animate):

stsíki áχsi ponokámita(i) támatsikaykápitsiu then he also cut loose  
another good horse.

ki stsíkim inikiim Mátokeks mátsitotsinòkimaiaiu and the Women-society  
would also have a happy dance for still another one who killed an enemy.  
(notice the demonstrative suffix).

ki omíma stsíkima nitúyi matánistotòyiu aie and to the next (woman) he  
did the same thing again (notice the demonstrative suffix).

mátastaiaiu, stsíki máχkatoχkoχkémisau they think also, they will get  
another wife.

omí stsíki matápi, ánniaie otáitsinikàk it was that other person that was  
telling about her.

ki omí stsíki stámatsautoyiu and he then pulled out the other (of the  
twins).

ki omím stsíkim ksiskstakiokuyi mátskūnakatsiua and he shot the other  
one, the beaver-furred (buffalo), too (notice the demonstrative suffix).

ki anni (kenni) istsíki oápsspi náχkstaupsipákiauopiñai and I would have  
burst his other eye too.

ki itoχpáipiñai stsíki then the next one jumped down.

Examples of *st s i k i* (inanimate):

stsíki kaupíu mátspskunakiu he shot up again with the other (arrow),  
the blunt one.

ki omi stšiki, ikapipixkimikō, mōkakin *and the other (kind of earth he had), a reddish earth, was pemmican.*

stšiki matoxtspaxkūmiu, ki āpoxpauāniaiks; matstšiki ātoxtspaxkūmiu, ki āumatsipuauyaiks *he shot another (arrow) up in the air, and then they moved about; he shot another one, and then they nearly got up.*

matstšikim ātsitsipimiau *they entered another (sweat-lodge) too (notice the demonstrative suffix).*

stšikim stāmatsitapsāksiau *they then also went out of another (sweat-lodge).*

stšiki mātsitsāpoxtom ōxkotokists (= stšiki mātsitsāpoxtom ōxkotok) *then he put again some more stones in the pot (stšiki here has the value of a plural, respectively of a collective).*

Examples of stšikiks (animate plural):

ki omiksi stšikiks stāmaiaksinitsiu *and then he was going to kill those others.*

sākiāupii stšikiks kyāioiks *some other bears still sat there.*

ki amōksi stšikiks itāxkānaipokaki *and these others all woke up.*

stšikiks ākainii, ki anniksi (kenniksi) sākiaitapii *some were dead, and others were still alive.*

stšikiks nāmists ixtapōi, ki anniksi (kenniksi) matstšikiks nīmists ixtapōi *some of them went east, and the others went on the westside.*

stšikiks āmo onōxksēkani mātsitaiisksimmatau *some of the people put their beddings also on (dogs).*

stšikiks ūnoauaiks okōauaists ānnimaie aitaipōiau *some of them went to their father's lodges.*

stšikiks oxtōkists āiistsinimiau *of others they cut off their ears.*

istšikiks āuatsiaiu *some others were drunk.*

stšikiksi ninaiks āiokskami ki āisoyimi otoxkēmauaiks *other men had three or four wives.*

stšikiks istōkimatsists ixtāisokinaku... ki stšikiks āisimistsii *some of them doctored with drums, ... and some doctored by giving something to drink.*

Examples of stšikists (inanimate plural):

tōkskai ksistsikūyi āpaitōkskāmi, stšikists itāiokskāmi nitsiniksiks *one day (I kill) sometimes one, other days I kill three of them.*

stšikists (ni) sauāpikskimain *other times I do not go shooting about.*

ki ikakauōyi stšikists (ni) mātaisinxpinaists *and there are many other things we (excl.) draw.*

stšikists asōkaiists sokūiau, stšikists saxkotsiau *some trunks were heavy, others were light.*

Examples of mā - *other, another* (cf. § 116 and § 119): matsinau *another man; matākeu another woman; ōma kimātoxkoa? is that one another boy of yours?; kōkit mātoxkōs (= matoxkōkit kōs) give me another cup; nitāxpūmmau matoxkāksākin (= nimatāxpūmmau kāksākin) I have bought another axē; matsisōpatsists other seats; matsitsikin another moccasin.*

Where it is wanted to emphasize that the other person or thing meant is different from the person or thing mentioned before, one uses *noχkét si(m)*, *-oχkét si(m)*, or, with the prefix *măt-*, *mătóχkét si(m)*. I was told, however, that the compound *mătóχkét si(m)* does not stress so much the difference as *noχkét si(m)* does. A few examples will suffice:

*noχkét si akámanikit (aikámanikit) ask me for something else.*

*ki ixtsitáinayiu, otsinótsimáχpi noχkét sim they (grammatically a singular) would become chiefs, because they (as before) saw the people of another (a different) tribe.*

*noχkét sim áiniu he would catch another one (than his son).*

*ki omi noχkét siu ixtsitámisò and from another place he came up.*

*matóχkét sim ní nau áistamámisò another man then went up high.*

*omá matóχkét sim nitoχkókáie another one gave it to me.*

Cf. also the compound *noχkét sitapi* *people belonging to another tribe*, and the verbal prefix *noχkét s-*, *-oχkét s-* (see § 117).

#### § 54. *the same.*

The Blackfoot word denoting *sameness* is for the animate gender *nitó a*, for the inanimate class *nitú yi*. I suppose that *nitú yi* may function also as obviative of *nitó a*, though I do not remember to have heard any sentence bearing out this supposition (cf. however below among the verbalized forms). *Nitó a* as well as *nitú yi* may be extended by means of the demonstrative suffix *-m(a)*. In *nitú itsk* we shall have to recognize a relative suffix. The form *nitú yi* is often used adverbially for *in the same way*, *just the same*, or the like. There occur different verbalized forms of *nitó a* and *nitú yi*, singular and plural, which will be exemplified below. As a prefix *nit(s)-*, *-it(s)-*, is used, whose identity with the numeral prefix *nit(s)-* is obvious.

Examples of *nitó á* (animate):

*nitó a itamiso the same one (who had shot) went up (the tree).*

*nitó am ikúnaiua ikiuámisamiu the same people that were camping went all up on a hunt.*

Examples of *nitú yi* (inanimate):

*nitú yi áistamanistsiu opitám he then always said the same (as before) to his old woman.*

*ómaχkaikóküyi nitú yi otáuanikaie all night he was told the same by him.*

*nitú yi stámatanistotsim he then did it the same again (licked it)* (*nitú yi* is to be considered as an adverb; that the verb has the inanimate form is conditioned by the inanimate gender of *matsitsikin* *another moccasin*, denoting the thing to which the same action is done).

*nitú yi mátanistsiu he did it the same again (licked it)* (*nitú yi* is used adverbially; the verb has the animate form, because of the animate gender of the word denoting the thing which was licked, viz. *atsis* *legging*).

matsitspàxkumiu nitúyi *at the same time he shot up into the air* (nitúyi used adverbially).

stámatomatapòiau nitúyi, otsítaupixp omá ninau *then they started to that same place, where that man used to sit* (as above).

ki amitoxts nitúyi stámoxtòtoxtsoo *and then, higher up, at the same place, he went in* (as above).

nistóa nitsistotóxtsists nitúyim istoxtóttau *put my own clothes in the same bundle* (nitúyim used adverbially).

Verbalized forms of nitóa (animate):

nitóauk Isókskitsinau mátsitsinoyiu omi ótskuisistsi *the same Ashes-chief it was, he saw the blue-bird too*.

nitóauk omá Nápiaua, nitóauk ki omá Pomisa *the Old Man was the same, and that Fat was the same*.

nitúauk omá sauâxpistsäpsiu itsitápoxtóoaie *the same meddlesome one it was that went up to her*.

nitóaxkauk ixtsáuatsitsiu, omaxtsistseksinaiks annóm ksaxkúyi ki kyáioiks *he is the same one by whom it is caused that there are no rattlesnakes and bears in this country* (nitóaxkauk is not based immediately on nitóa, but on a form containing the relative suffix -xk).

The verbalized forms of nitúyi are not all of them inanimate. Examples of such forms of both genders:

nitúyauk ómoxtauàkis, itámsokatitaixtsiinai áuatuyiskeininai *at the same place where she got water there lay suddenly a doe*.

nituyáukinai *it was the same person* (here we have a fourth-person's form which may be looked upon as the verbalization of an obviative).

nitúyiaukaie ixtsápikakiatsiauaie *from the same (half) of the hide it was they made stirrups*.

nitúyimauc ómoxtauàkis, ómaxkaniskskèinin *at the same place where she got water, there was a big young buffalo-cow*.

nitúksimàukiau mátoxtaiopimiskàupiau *the same (hides) were also made into hard ropes* (nitúksimàukiau contains the animate plural-suffix, because the hides are looked upon as animate).

napi, nitúyinitšiau kokúnunists *partner, our (incl.) lodges are the same*.

Now I shall give some examples of the prefix nit(s)-, -it(s)-, the same (cf. § 59):

nitaništšinatšiau ánni áskàxkuyi *(the ribs) looked the same as a short-back-butto*.

kinétoxtkanistaiàkàinoàu Ninoxtkyàio *you (pl.) will see Bear-chief all the same* (-net = -nit-).

àkéks itáitotuisapinausiau otókamàtsimoàuaiks *the women dressed the same as their lovers*.

Initial nit- is changed in the imperative, conjunctive, and subjunctive to nist-, e.g. nistáinak *be seen in the same way*.

In the following cases the idea of sameness is expressed twice, once by

the independent word *nitúyi*, used adverbially, and once by the prefix *nit-*:

*óxpsoàuaists nitúyi nitskunatápsiau they (the hunters) were strong just the same as their arrows.*

*otoxkéman nitúyi nitáxssin his wife was just the same as good (as he was).*

*nitúyi nitáixtsau she is laid down in just the same way.*

*nitúyi nitauáuaixkaiixk kyáioi he walked just the same way as the bear.*

*ki otsinánouaists nitúyi nitáxsii and their things were fine just the same.*

Sometimes we find *nito-* (*nitui-*) as a prefix, e.g.:

*ánni nitoápiksimáists in this same way they threw them (in.).*

*nitoaimo it smells the same.*

*mátsóaks nitúianistapsi their leggings were just the same.*

For *nitap-* (*-itap-*) the same see § 119.

#### § 55. *somebody, something, nobody, nothing, none.*

It is remarkable that Blackfoot has no words exactly corresponding to our indefinite pronouns *somebody, something*, and their negations. The total absence of such words (for *áiaua*, treated in § 52, is not the equivalent of *somebody*, though it may eventually be translated in that way) is to be explained by the local character of the demonstratives, which, just because of their local character, are very apt to function as indefinite pronouns. Especially this observation refers to *omá, omí* (§ 35). For *some*, as we have seen in § 53, the plural of *stsíki* *other*, viz. *an, stsíkiks, in, stsíkists*, may be used. The expressions *there is, there are (some)*, French *il y a*, German *es giebt*, ought to be rendered in Blackfoot by the verb *itstsíu* *there is*. To express the ideas *nobody, nothing, none*, Blackfoot makes use of negative verbalized nouns (see § 19), or of the negative conjugation of the verb *itstsíu*. The exact opposite of *itstsíu* is *mátsitstsixpa (mátsitstsip)* *there is none, there are none*.

#### § 56. *all, every, each.*

The ideas *all, every, each* are not expressed by independent words in this language, but by prefixes, attached either to the noun or to the verb (in the case of *kan-* eventually to both at the same time).

*kan-* (*kanai-, kanau-, áxkan-, ixkan-*) *all*, e.g.: *kanáunistsaxs all the calves; kanáipim kanáiniua all of the buffalo all went in; áxkanautoyiau they took them (an.) all; áitáxkanáipimiau then they all entered there; ixkanáinoau he was seen by all*. A compound of *kan-* is *istoχkan-*, e.g.: *spóχtsim istoχkanáitapiua niksókoa all the people on high are my kindred; istoχkanáukapsiu he is the worst of all*.

mot- (-ot-), moto- (-oto-), motui- (-otui-) *all, all over*, e.g.: motäiäyke *all-water, water-all-over* (i.e. ocean); nimótsipitakeix-pinan *we (excl.) are all old women*; motúiekakimäk *try hard, all of you*; mótuixtsii máksiniks *the carcasses were scattered all over*; nistói nitotúisapi-naush *it was I she dressed like in all respects*; stámikiks, otótuitsitòkepüyis *moyists that there were bulls standing all over the camp*.

auki- (aukiu-), oki- (okiu-) *all, everybody*, e.g.: aukiuaïmau (aukiwemmau) *she was wanted by everybody to marry (everybody wanted to marry her)*; áukisokinaïau *the were doctored by all*; itáukiotâxpummau *they all went on (to the trading-post) to buy*; ixtsitókiiimiòp *he therefore then was laughed at by all*; istokinisit *burn it all up*.

iki- (ikiu-) *all*, e.g.: ikiómatapò *they all started to go*; ikiuókunaiiu (íkiwókunaiiu) *they were all camping together*; ikiuámisamiu (ikiwámi-samiu) *they went all up on a hunt*.

itsin- (itsini-) *all*, e.g.: itsinoxpatskoau *he was all trampled to pieces*; ki ámoi nitáuatoxpínànists itsiniákauòyi *and these things that we (excl.) eat are all plentiful*; itsiniótòinaiks *they (4 p. sing. collective) took them (an.) all away*; stámitsinistsitsiua *then it all melted away*.

sopok- *all, whole*, e.g.: sopóksapunstaiixk *he used his full medicine-power*; áisopoksinóksiau *they all had plenty of food*; ikyâia(i)sopókòxpù-matau *finally all of it was bought*; áisopokitamâpiu *there would be a perfectly happy time*.

nit-, -it- *all* (identical with nit-, -it- *one*, see § 59), e.g.: nitáikimatskiòpiu *they are all sitting with pitiful faces*; (ni)tótaumaykài *they all ran by (her)*; áitsitsòyâxsiu *all of them yelled*.

omayk- *all, whole* (identical with omayk- *large, big*, see § 26), e.g.: tómomaykatskoxpatsimaie *then she made it all into one roll*; áumaykainispàixtsiu *the whole camp is quiet*.

axt-, axto-, axtui- *each, each in his turn*, e.g.: ótaxtaikspipokoaiauaie *they were each of them bitten through the skull by her*; stámay-tàinitsiu *then she killed each one of them*; stámaytoitautsiniuaie *then she held him to each one (of the lodge-poles)*; ákauaytuyisimàtamau *we (incl.) shall carry her on our backs, each in his turn*.

If we look back on the material presented here, it will strike us, that the prefixes denoting *all, every, each* do not strictly require the plural of the noun or the verb. It depends on idiom, when the singular, or when the plural, is to be used.

### § 57. *many and few.*

The independent word for *many* is akaiimi (akaiimmi) for the animate gender, akauó for the inanimate class. Both of them may take verbal endings. I shall give some examples of their use, attributive and predicative:

akaiimi pokáiks *many children*.

akaiimi ixtáipiksopiks *many hammers.*

akaiim matápiua nánoyiuaie, otsistaisi *many people saw him when he dived in.*

mátsisamòa Naáxsinàna nitsitoxkokinan ski'miks akaiimi *it was not long afterwards, then the Government (literally: our, excl., grandfather) gave us (excl.) many mares.*

ki áuakaiimi mamiks, ki ikáukakiau, ki mátauakaiima nitomixkàniks *and there are lots of fish, and they are very shy, and I don't catch a great many.*  
itakáimi nótàsinàniks *then our (excl.) horses were many.*

akaiimmixki námàkeks *there were many single women.*

máxkakaiisi, otáitotuisapinàuspiks *that there might be many (of those), they had to imitate in dressing.*

mátakauòa istuyists *it was not many years afterwards.*

nokúnanists pistóxtsi sokápiu, akauóyi sekánists ki náipistsiks *our (excl.) houses were good, there were lots of bedding and blankets (the inanimate verbal form akauóyi is conditioned by the gender of sekánists, notwithstanding that náipistsiks is animate).*

ikakauoyi auáuaxsists *there are plenty of foods (in.).*

áiksakáuoiasts *there were very many of them (in.).*

As prefixes denoting *many, plenty, much* we find *ak-* (*akai-*, *akau-*), also often met with when it is preceded by another prefix, and *-ik-* (*-ikai-*, *-ikau-*), which combines with the durative-iterative prefix *ai-* to *aik-* (*aikai-*, *aikau-*). Examples:

ákototàiau, *they had built a big fire (literally: plenty of fire).*

nitsikákotàs *I have very many horses.*

ómoxtapakaipuyixp *where they (the buffalo) were standing most.*

ixtakáumatskaxtaku *he had given plenty for her.*

ákáinakiniki (= ákáinakiniki) tsikatsí *when I have caught many grasshoppers.*

itauákaiksistapitsinikii *when they then tell many false coups.*

máxkitsitakaikamotàniaiks *that many of them might have escaped.*

ómoxtapikaiètapiškoxp *away from where there are so many people.*

ki ómixkaie ixtapikauopinai, ki ánnixkaie ákoxtsipiksiau *and away from where there were so many of them (4 p.), that way they ran away far.*

nimátaikautsipá *I do not often swim (I do not swim many times).*

To *ak-* (*-ik-*) belongs *akap-* (*-ikap-*), *often*, which will be treated in § 116.

Here may be mentioned yet the verb *akáixtsau an.*, *akāxtoxp in.* *costs much, is dear.*

The opposite of *akaiimi*, *akauó* is *unnátoxsimi an.*, *unnátoxsi in.* *few*, e.g.:

unnátoxsimi nínaiks *a few men.*

unnátoxsimi káksáki(i)ks *a few axes.*

ki omiksáie unnátoxsimi saxkúmapiks nitoxpokómai *and there were a few boys, with whom I went.*



unnátōχsi sināksists a *few books*.

The prefix for a *few* is *unnat-* (*unnats-*), e.g.: unnatsitapi *few people*; ákai-Pekàni unnatókimiua *there were few of the ancient Peigans in a camp*.

The verb akáixtsiu, akǎχtoχp, mentioned above, is matched by its opposite unnátstsau an., unnátstoχp (*unnátōχtoχp*) in, *costs few* (e.g. *dollars*), *is cheap*.

Also the stem *makap-* *bad* (see § 26 and § 27) may indicate the notion of paucity, e.g.: iksimakāpsii noχkauđkasistotōχsiks *very few had antelope-dresses*; áimakāpiu *it is scarce, it gets scarce*.

## CHAPTER XII.

### Numerals.

#### § 58. Independent cardinals.

A great wealth of forms is exhibited by the numerals. By the side of the primary forms which the Indians use when counting without special reference to persons or things, animate or inanimate, there are also two different sets, respectively, for the animate and the inanimate gender. In certain cases numeral prefixes, without any distinction of gender, are attached to nouns (§ 59). The independent animate and inanimate cardinals appear also with verbal endings, and then they are treated as other verbs (§ 60). In composition with preceding elements of any kind the *k-* of *ten* and the *n-* of other numerals are dropped. The stem *nat-* (*natok-*) *two*, however, never occurs after a compositional element; when it would have to be preceded by a prefix, it is substituted by *-ist-* (*-istok-*) (cf. § 69). As to the words for *one*, their initial syllable *ni-* is often dropped, without any compositional element preceding it, a purely phonetical phenomenon which is also met with in the pronominal prefixes of the first person (§ 30). The cardinals from *one* to *ten* are the following:

Simple forms.	Animate.	Inanimate.
1 <i>nitókska, niséa</i>	<i>nitókskam(a)</i>	<i>nitókskau</i>
2 <i>nátoka</i>	<i>nátokami</i>	<i>nátokai</i>
3 <i>niuókska, niuóka</i>	<i>niuókskami</i>	<i>niuókskai</i>
4 <i>nisoó, nisó, niso</i>	<i>nisoyimi</i>	<i>nisoóyi</i>
5 <i>nisitó, nisito</i>	<i>nisitsi</i>	<i>nisitóyi</i>
6 <i>náu</i>	<i>näi</i>	<i>náuyi</i>
7 <i>ixkitsíka, kitsíka</i>	<i>ixkitsíkami</i>	<i>ixkitsíkai</i>
8 <i>nániso</i>	<i>nánisoyimi</i>	<i>nánisoyi</i>
9 <i>pixkso</i>	<i>pixksi</i>	<i>pixksóyi</i>
10 <i>képo</i>	<i>képi</i>	<i>kepóyi</i>

The cardinals between *ten* and *twenty* are formed by means of a suffix, the simple form of which is *-koputo*. This suffix is changed to *-koputsi* for the animate gender, and to *-koputoyi* for the inanimate class. So we get the following sets of forms:

Simple forms.	Animate.	Inanimate.
11 nitsikóputo	nitsikóputsi	nitsikóputoyi
12 natsikóputo	natsikóputsi	natsikóputoyi
13 nikóputo	nikóputsi	nikóputoyi
14 nisékoputo	nisékoputsi	nisékoputoyi
15 nisitsékoputo	nisitsékoputsi	nisitsékoputoyi
16 náikoputo	náikoputsi	náikoputoyi
17 ixkitsíkekoputo	ixkitsíkekoputsi	ixkitsíkekoputoyi
18 nánisekoputo	nánisekoputsi	nánisekoputoyi
19 pixksékoputo	pixksékoputsi	pixksékoputoyi

The names of the decades are compounds with *-ippo*, the compositional form of *képo ten*. The animate forms have the ending *-i* instead of *-o*, whereas the inanimate forms have the suffix *-yi* attached to the simple stem, so that they end in *-oyi*.

Simple forms.	Animate.	Inanimate.
20 nátsippo	nátsippi	nátsippoyi
30 niippo	niippi	niippoyi
40 nisippo	nisippi	nisippoyi
50 nisitsippo	nisitsippi	nisitsippoyi
60 náippo	náippi	náippoyi
70 ixkitsíkippo	ixkitsíkippi	ixkitsíkippoyi
80 nánisippo	nánisippi	nánisippoyi
90 pixksippo	pixksippi	pixksippoyi
100 kéippo	kéippi	kéippoyi

The compositional forms of the names of decades with initial *n-* drop this consonant. Only *nátsippo twenty* has no compositional form of its own, but after a prefix it is substituted by *-istsippo* (*-istsippi*, *-istsippoyi*). Regular compositional forms are *-iippo* (*-iippi*, *-iippoyi*) *thirty*, *-isippo* (*-isippi*, *-isippoyi*) *forty*, *-isitsippo* (*-isitsippi*, *-isitsippoyi*) *fifty*, *-aiippo* (*-aiippi*, *-aiippoyi*) *sixty*, *-anisippo* (*-anisippi*, *-anisippoyi*) *eighty*.

To indicate the numbers between the decades, the numerals ending in *-koputo*, an. *-koputsi*, in. *-koputoyi*, which when used by themselves have the value of *eleven*, *twelve*, etc., are added to the names of the decades. E.g. 21 *nátsippo nitsikóputo*, an. *nátsippi nitsikóputsi*, in. *nátsippoyi nitsikóputoyi*; 56 *nisitsippo náikoputo*, an. *nisitsippi náikoputsi*, in. *nisitsippoyi náikoputoyi*; 89 *nánisippo pixksékoputo*, an. *nánisippi pixksékoputsi*, in. *nánisippoyi pixksékoputoyi*.

For the hundreds are used compounds with *kéippo*, an. *kéippi*, in. *kéippoyi*. So we have 200 *nátokekéippo*, 300 *niúókskakéippo*, 400 *nisókéippo*, 500 *nisitókekéippo*, 600 *náikeippo*, 700 *ixkitsíkekéippo*, 800

nānisoikēpippo, 900 pixksékēpippo. In the same way 1000 képuikēpippo. Another word for *thousand* is ómaykskēpippo, literally a *big hundred*.

### § 59. Numeral prefixes.

As I have stated above, in certain cases numeral prefixes are attached to nouns. Such prefixes may be also incorporated in verbal forms, but then they refer to the number of times a happening takes place (cf. § 66). They never reflect the gender of the persons or things referred to.

After other compositional elements nearly all the numeral prefixes undergo certain changes, which they share, however, with the independent numerals, and which will be exemplified in § 69.

Here I shall give a list of the most common numeral prefixes:

nit- (-nit-, -it-), nits- (-nits-, -its-) one, e.g. nitsitápiu *one person*, nitožkēmiu *he had one wife*, ninítóxtoki *I have one ear*, ninítóxkatsi *I have one foot*, ninitotsii *I have one hand* (cf. § 119).

nat-, nats- two, e.g. nátsitapiks *two persons*, natsitapiu *they are two persons*, nátožkemiks *who (pl.) had two wives*, nátsimiokòsiu *she has twins*, natsikóputo *twelve*, nátsippo *twenty*.

natok-, natoki- two, e.g. natokianasiau *they costed two (robes)*, natokiskskomoyiuaie *he gave him two warnings*.

nist-, nists- (with infix -ai- naiist-, naiists-; after another prefix -ist-, -ists-) two, e.g. naiistoxtapināmayka *takes-gun-on-both-sides* (i.e. *anus*), naiistotopatsiixkiauaie *they sat on both sides of him*.

nistok- (-istok-), nistoki- (-istoki-) two, e.g. nistókiðmožpiisaists *if they (in.) turned over twice*, nistókianāsiasau *if they costed two robes*.

niuoksk- (-oksk-) three, e.g. niuóskkaitapiu *there are three persons*, niuóskkaukitsinai *(the bird) (4 p.) had three claws*, niuóskkai-piksiu *he strikes three times* (a short prefix ni- (-i) is found only in nikóputo *thirteen*, niippo *thirty*).

nis- (-is-), niso- (-iso-) four, e.g. nisóitapiu *there are four persons*, nisóianàsiu *it costs four robes*, nisékoputo *fourteen*, nisippo *forty*.

nisit- (-isit-), nisits- (-isits-), nisito- (-isito) five, e.g. nisitsitapiu *there are five persons*, nisitóianàsiu *it costs five (robes)*, nisitsékoputo *fifteen*, nisitsippo *fifty*.

nai- (-ai-), nau- (-au-) six, e.g. náitapiu *there are six persons*, náikoputo *sixteen*, náippo *sixty*.

ixkitsiki- (-oxkitsiki-), ixkitsik- (-oxkitsik-) seven, e.g. ixkitsiketapiu *there are seven persons*, ixkitsikekoputo *seventeen*, ixkitsikippo *seventy*.

nanis- (-anis-), nanisi- (-anisi-), naniso- (-aniso-) eight, e.g. nānisetapiu *there are eight persons*, nānisekoputo *eighteen*, nānisippo *eighty*.

pixks-, pixksi-, pixkso- nine (unchanged after prefixes), e.g.

pixksétapiau *there are nine persons*, pixksékoputo *nineteen*, pixksippo *ninety*, nitsipixksànistsi *I did it nine times*.

kep- (-ippi-), kepi- (-ippi), kepo- (-ippo-) *ten*, e.g. kepi-  
tapiau *there are ten persons*, kèpippo *a hundred (ten ten's)*.

In the same way they will use nátsippetapiau *there are twenty persons*,  
nippetapiau *there are thirty persons*, nisippetapiau *there are forty persons*,  
nisitsippetapiau *there are fifty persons*, náippetapiau *there are sixty*  
*persons*, ixkitsikippetapiau *there are seventy persons*, nánisippetapiau *there*  
*are eighty persons*, pixksétapiau *there are ninety persons*, kepippetapiau  
*there are a hundred persons*.

### § 60. Ordinary numeral verbs.

The ordinary numeral verbs are used in the sense of *there is one*, *there*  
*are two (they are two)*, *there are three (they are three)*, etcet.

#### A n i m a t e.

- 1 nitókskam
- 2 nátokamiau
- 3 niuókskamiau
- 4 nišoyímiau
- 5 nisitsiau
- 6 náiiiau
- 7 ixkitsíkamiau
- 8 nánisoyímiau
- 9 pixksíiau
- 10 kepiiau
- 11 nitsikóputsiau
- 12 natsikóputsiau
- 13 nikóputsiau
- 14 nisékoputsiau
- 15 nisitsékoputsiau
- 16 náikoputsiau
- 17 ixkitsíkekoputsiau
- 18 nánisekoputsiau
- 19 pixksékoputsiau
- 20 nátsippiiau
- 30 níippiiau
- 40 nisippiiau
- 50 nisitsippiiau
- 60 náippiiau
- 70 ixkitsíkippiiau
- 80 nánisippiiau
- 90 pixksippiiau
- 100 kèpippiiau

#### I n a n i m a t e.

- nitókskau, nitókskaie
- nátokaiau
- niuókskaiau
- nisóiau
- nisitóiau
- náuiiau
- ixkitsíkaiiau
- nánisoiau
- pixksóiau
- kepóiau
- nitsikóputoiau
- natsikóputoiau
- nikóputoiau
- nisékoputoiau
- nisitsékoputoiau
- náikoputoiau
- ixkitsíkekoputoiau
- nánisekoputoiau
- pixksékoputoiau
- nátsippoiau
- níippoiau
- nisippoiau
- nisitsippoiau
- náippoiau
- ixkitsíkippoiau
- nánisippoiau
- pixksippoiau
- kèpippoiau

These numeral verbs often take the durative prefix *a i -* (in certain cases *a u -*), after which initial *n* and *k* disappear, e.g. *áiànisoyimiau an., áiani-soiau in. there are eight; áiitsikoputsiau an., áiitsikoputoiau in. there are eleven; áiikòputsiau an., áiikòputoiau in. there are thirteen; áipiau an., áipòiau in. there are ten.* For *nat-* (*natok-*) *two* after *a i -* its equivalent *-ist-* (*-istok-*) is substituted (*aist- = a i - + -ist-*; *aistok- = a i - + -istok-*), e.g. *áistsikoputsiau an., áistsikoputoiau in. there are twelve.*

#### § 61. Numeral verbs for counting days and nights.

There is a special series of numeral verbs for counting days and nights, characterized by the suffix *-ni-*. In most of them we find the durative prefix *a i -*.

1	áitokskauniu	18	ánisekoputoniū
2	áistokiauniū	19	áipixksekoputoniū
3	áiokskauniū	20	áistsipponiū
4	áisoniū	21	nátsippo-áitsikoputoniū
5	áisitoniū	22	nátsippo-áistsikoputoniū
6	áuniū	23	nátsippo-áikoputoniū
7	áuχkitsikiuniū	24	áistsippo-áisekoputoniū
8	ánisoniū	25	áistsippo-áisitsekoputoniū
9	áipixksoniū	30	áipponiū
10	áiponiū	40	áisipponiū
11	áitsikoputoniū	50	áisitsipponiū
12	áistsikoputoniū	60	náipponiū
13	áikoputoniū	70	ixkitsikipponiū
14	áisekoputoniū	80	nánisipponiū
15	áisitsekoputoniū	90	pixksipponiū
16	áikoputoniū	100	kepipponiū
17	áuχkitsikekoputoniū		

#### § 62. Numeral verbs for counting years.

Age is expressed by another series of numeral verbs. These are compounds of the noun *stúyi winter* with numeral prefixes, most times preceded by the durative prefix *a i -* (*a u -*), and have *-mi-* as derivative suffix. They answer the question, how many years old a person is. The same verbs will also serve other purposes than to indicate age, and are, e.g., used, when one states about somebody that he has lived in certain conditions during so-and-so many years. Here is an example of the latter use:

*áksipummòaiāu, Kakuiks ánniksaie otsipúmmokoāiaū; áxpisóstuyimāuaie, noχkitsippumoyiaū uskáuaiks they would be initiated, the Doves were the ones that initiated them; they were four years with it (i.e. members of that society), then they initiated their younger brothers.*

I shall give a list of them in the form with a i- (a u-), just as they are used to indicate age.

1 áiitstuyimiu	18 áuànisekoputostuyimiu
2 áistokistuyimiu	19 áipixksekoputostuyimiu
3 áiokskastuyimiu	20 áistsippostuyimiu
4 áisostuyimiu	21 áistsippostuyimiu áiitsikoputoiau
5 áisitostuyimiu	22 áistsippostuyimiu áistsikoputoiau
6 áuaistuyimiu	23 áistsippostuyimiu áiikoputoiau
7 áukitsikistuyimiu	24 áistsippostuyimiu áisekoputoiau
8 áuànisostuyimiu	25 áistsippostuyimiu áisitsekoputoiau
9. áipixksostuyimiu	30 áiippostuyimiu
10 áiippostuyimiu	40 áisippostuyimiu
11 áitsikoputostuyimiu	50 áisitsippostuyimiu
12 áistsikoputoštuyimiu	60 áiippostuyimiu
13 áiikoputostuyimiu	70 áužkitsikippostuyimiu
14 áisekoputostuyimiu	80 áuànisippostuyimiu
15 áisitsekoputostuyimiu	90 áipixksippostuyimiu
16 áiaikoputostuyimiu	100 áikepippostuyimiu
17 áukitsikèkoputostuyimiu	

### § 63. Numeral verbs expressing price.

There is also a group of numeral verbs, with different endings for the animate and the inanimate, answering the question tsanitsixtsáuats (an.), tsanitsòxtoxpats (in.) *how much does he, respectively does it, cost*. Nowadays they often have the noun sopòks *dollar* incorporated, but the shorter forms, immediately derived from the numeral stems, are still used. Of the same kind are the verbs akáixtsau (an.) akāxtoxp (in.) *is dear (costs much)*, and unnátstsau (an.), unnátstoxp, unnátòxtoxp (in.) *is cheap (costs little)*. The reader will be aware, that the verbs expressing price have the endings of the indefinite passive (§ 73).

#### Animate.

- 1 nitsópoksixtsau
- 2 nátokixtsau, nátokisopoksixtsau
3. niuókskaixtsau, niuokskaisopoksixtsau
- 4 nisóixtsau, nisóisopoksixtsau
- 5 nisitóixtsau, nisitóisopoksixtsau
- 6 náixtsau, náisopoksixtsau
- 7 ixkitsíkiixtsau, ixkitsíkesopoksixtsau
- 8 nánisoiixtsau, nánisesopoksixtsau

#### Inanimate.

- nitsópoksòxtoxp
- nátokioxtoxp, nátokisopoksòxtoxp
- niuóksòxtoxp, niuókskaisopoksòxtoxp
- nisóxtoxp, nisóisopoksòxtoxp
- nisitóxtoxp, nisitóisopoksòxtoxp
- náuoxtoxp, náisopoksòxtoxp
- ixkitsíkyoxtoxp, ixkitsíkesopoksòxtoxp
- nánisoxtoxp, nánisesopoksòxtoxp

## A n i m a t e.

- 9 pixksóixtsau, pixksóisopoksix-  
tsau  
10 kepóixtsau, kepóisopoksixtsau  
11 nitsikóputoixtsau, nitsikóputoi-  
sopoksixtsau  
12 natsikóputoixtsau, natsikóputoi-  
sopoksixtsau  
20 nátsippoixtsau, nátsippoisopok-  
sixtsau  
25 nátsippoixtsau nisitsékoputsi,  
nátsippoisopoksixtsau nisitsé-  
koputsi  
30 níippoixtsau, níippoisopoksixtsau  
40 nísippoixtsau, nísippoisopoksix-  
tsau  
50 nisitsippoixtsau, nisitsippoisopo-  
ksixtsau  
60 náippoixtsau, náippoisopoksix-  
tsau  
70 ixkitsíkippoixtsau, ixkitsíkippoi-  
sopoksixtsau  
80 nánisippoixtsau, nánisippoisopo-  
ksixtsau  
90 pixksippoixtsau, pixksippoisopo-  
ksixtsau  
100 kepíppoixtsau, kepíppoisopok-  
sixtsau

## I n a n i m a t e.

- pixksòχtoxp, pixksóisopoksòχ-  
toxp  
kepòχtoxp, kepóisopoksòχtoxp  
nitsikóputoχtoxp, nitsikóputoiso-  
poksòχtoxp  
natsikóputoχtoxp, natsikóputoi-  
sopoksòχtoxp  
nátsippoχtoxp, nátsippoisopok-  
sòχtoxp  
nátsippoχtoxp nisitsékoputo, nát-  
sippoisopoksòχtoxp nisitséko-  
puto  
níippoχtoxp, níippoisopoksòχtoxp  
nísippoχtoxp, nísippoisopoksòχ-  
toxp  
nisitsippoχtoxp, nisitsippoisopok-  
sòχtoxp  
náippoχtoxp, náippoisopoksòχ-  
toxp  
ixkitsíkippoχtoxp, ixkitsíkippoi-  
sopoksòχtoxp  
nánisippoχtoxp, nánisippoisopo-  
ksòχtoxp  
pixksippoχtoxp, pixksippoisopo-  
ksòχtoxp  
kepíppoχtoxp, kepíppoisopoksòχ-  
toxp

Another group of numeral verbs indicating the price of something is formed by means of the suffix *-a(i)nasí-*, e.g. *nitsáinasíu it costs one*, *natókíanasíu (nistókíanasíu) it costs two*, *nisoíanasíu it costs four*, *nisitóíanasíu it costs five*. I have not been able to ascertain the true character of this kind of verbs, nor even to collect more of them than the few occurring in my texts.

§ 64. *half*.

Blackfoot has not developed a special series to designate fractions. There is, however, a word for *half*, viz. *anáukoχt*, *anáukoχts(i)*, which as other words in *-oχt*, *-oχts(i)* is very often used adverbially. The corresponding prefix is *anáuk(s)-*, but *anáuks(i)* is also used as an independent word in the sense of *half a dollar* (also called *ómaykanauksi*, literally: *big half*), whereas a *quarter of a dollar* is called *ínakanauks(i)* (literally: *small half*). Even in the terminology of small coins the same



word anáuks(i) is made use of: for *dime* they say *kepánauks(i)* (*ten halves*), for *nickel* *nisitánauks(i)* (*five halves*), for *cent* *nitanáuks(i)* (*one half*). It is evident that in such compounds anáuks(i) has lost the meaning of *half*, and does not mean anything more precise than a *certain* (*greater or lesser*) *part of a whole*. Cf. also *inákánaukotakoŋsin* a *quarter of an hour* (literally: *small half hour*) by the *side* of *anáu kotakoŋsin* *half an hour*.

Besides *anáu koŋt*, *anáu koŋts(i)* there is still another independent form for *half*, viz. *anáu kiu*, e.g.: *tókskai ksistsikúi ki anni anáu kiu* *it was one day and a half*.

For *it is half past* quite a different verbal expression is used, viz. *äutsiskáto*, e.g. *nitókskai äutsiskáto* *it is half past one*, *nátokai äutsiskáto* *it is half past two* (cf. *nitókskai áitôtò* *it is one o'clock*, *nátokai áitôtò* *it is two o'clock*, etc., answering the question *tsáa áitotóa ixtáiksistsikumioŋi? tsáa itotóats ixtáiksistsikumioŋi? what o'clock is it?*).

Returning to *anáu koŋt* and *anáu koŋtsi*, I shall give some examples of their use, but first I have to observe that *anáu koŋtsi*, as all words with the same ending, may be extended by demonstrative suffixes, though I do not remember to have met with the extended forms *anáu koŋtsik*, *anáu koŋtsimí*. *anáu koŋt amó ákaitapiu mátoŋkotopátotsiua*, *ki annoŋk anáu koŋt áŋkumitopamapaitapiu ákai-Pekáni* *the half of this ancient people could not cross, and now half of the ancient Peigans is living about across*.

*anáu koŋt nitákatsitsamau* *I will look for her among the (other) half (of the buffalo-herd)*.

*kanauánau koŋt áupamo* *all the half crossed*.

*mokúmanau koŋt mátsinoyuats* *he had not seen just half (of the buffalo-herd)*.

*anáu koŋtsi otokisi támotsimiau* *then they took half of the hide*.

*anáu koŋtsi támomyanistáinimiäu* *then they cut one half in different pieces*.

*ki anáu koŋts sotámoŋkotsiua otákaii* *and then he gave half (of the scalp) to his partner*.

*kanauánau koŋtsi matótsiminai otokáni* *he (4 p.) took also half of the scalp*.

*apinákus anáu koŋtsiksi annó ákitaupiau to-morrow half of them will stay here* (notice the plural-form).

Examples of nouns compounded with *anauk* -: *anáu kitapí* *half-breed people*, *anáu kitsis* *little finger* (literally: *half-finger*, by haplology from \**anáu-okitsis*), *anáu kotakoŋsin* *half an hour*, *anaukotokis* *half of a hide* (*otánnaukotokèmi* = *otánaukotokimi* *her half of a hide*).

Examples of *anauk* - as a verbal prefix:

*nitákanaukapanoŋs* *I shall have one eye closed* (literally: *I shall have half of my eyes closed*, cf. the equivalent: *tókskama noápsspa tákauapánoŋs*, which does not contain *anauk* -).

*unistáŋsiksi áiáŋkanauapánoŋsiau* *all the calves had one eye closed* (probably by haplology from a form containing *-kan-* *all* and *anauk-* *half*).

ánaukapiniu *he has one eye* (literally: *he is half-eyed*).

nítákauànaukapoxs *I shall have one eye* (half of my eyes) closed.

nítákauànauàksikoxs *I shall have one leg* (half of my legs) up (with dissimilatory loss of the *k* of *anauk-*).

nítákauanaukitomikoxs *I shall throw out one leg* (half of my legs) in front.

áiāxkanaukitomikoxsiau *they all threw out one leg* (half of their legs) in front (a similar case of haplology as *áiāxkanauapànoxsiau* mentioned above, but without loss of the *k* of *anauk-*).

nítákauanaukùpistokioxs *I shall keep one ear* (half of my ears) down.

áiāxkanaukùpistokioxsiau *they all kept one ear* (half of their ears) down (a parallel case to *áiāxkanaukitomikoxsiau* mentioned above).

áiāxkánauanaukupistokyaki(i) *then they all held one ear* (half of their ears) down (without haplology).

áuanaukatsàpsiu *he is half-crazy* (*kitáuanaukatsàps* *you are half-crazy*, a very common expression among the "Mission-kids").

### § 65. Ordinals.

As ordinal numerals function, except in the case of *first*, relative verbal forms, derived from the numeral stems by means of adding the prefix *omoxt(s)-*, and, at the same time, the suffix *-pi* for the animate, *-xpi* for the inanimate gender (e.g. *ómoxtsokskâpi* *an.*, *ómoxtsokskaxpi* *in.* *third*). The inanimate forms in *-xpi*, which are most times, though not always, used as adverbs, are very common, whereas, on the contrary, the animate forms seem to be pretty rare. Quite different in formation from these relative verbal forms are *matómoxt*, *matómoxtsi* (as prefix *matom-*, *-atom-*) *first*; *nátsáuxt*, *nátsáuxtsi* (as prefix *nats-*) *last*; *sakóóxt*, *sakóóxtsi* (as prefix *sako-*, *sakoi-*) *last*. These too may function as adverbs.

Here is a list of the inanimate ordinals:

1	matómoxtsi	15	ómoxtsisitsèkoputoxpi
2	ómoxtsistòkaxpi	16	ómoxtaikoputoxpi
3	ómoxtsokskaxpi	17	ómoxtaukitsikèkoputoxpi
4	ómoxtsisoxpi	18	ómoxtauànisekoputoxpi
5	ómoxtsisitoxpi	19	ómoxtsipixksekoputoxpi
6	ómoxtauoxpi	20	ómoxtsitsippoaxpi
7	ómoxtauχkitsikoxpi	30	ómoxtsiippoaxpi
8	ómoxtànisoaxpi	40	ómoxtsisippoaxpi
9	ómoxtsipixksoaxpi	50	ómoxtsisitsippoaxpi
10	ómoxtsippoaxpi	60	ómoxtàiippoaxpi
11	ómoxtsitsikbputoxpi	70	ómoxtauχkitsikippoaxpi
12	ómoxtsistsikoputoxpi	80	ómoxtauanisippoaxpi
13	ómoxtsikoputoxpi	90	ómoxtsipixksippoaxpi
14	ómoxtsisèkoputoxpi	100	ómoxtsikèippoaxpi

As I have mentioned above, the prefixed form of *matómoxt*, *matómoxtsi* (with demonstrative suffixes *matómoxtsik*, *matómoxtsim*) *first* is *matóm-* (*-a t o m -*). It is found with nouns as well as with verbs. Doubtless it is nearly akin to *itóm-* (*-o t o m -*) *first*, which, however, occurs only as a verbal prefix, and is not accompanied by an independent form in *oxt*, *-oxtsi* (it will be treated in § 113). Both *matóm-* and *itóm-* are of verbal origin (cf. *matómo*, *itómo* *he goes first*). Some examples will illustrate the use of *matóm-* (*-a t o m -*):

*matómipokâu* *first-born child*.

*matómotapôtsists* (*otatómapôtsists*) *the pieces of meat he had first brought in*.

*matómautstuyiu* *it was in the beginning of the winter* (properly: *winter had first come*).

*matómsotsikat* *you must slide first*.

*matómistsitsaukika* *bury (pl.) me first*.

*kámoxtatàumomatapauop* (= *ikámoxtatòmomatapauop*) *I have a mind to begin with you first* (literally: *let us, incl., eventually, start with it first*).

*tókskama áistamatómipiksiu* *one of them will strike first* (in baseball).

The use of *nátsáuxt*, *nátsáuxtsi* (*nátsáuxtsik*, *nátsáuxtsim*) *last* will be clear by the following examples:

*ómi nátsáuhta* *the last one there* (of the lodge-poles).

*ki'ómi nátsáuhts ánniaie itsipúyiu tókskam* *and over there on the farthest end* (over there last) *stood one of them*.

*nátsáuhtsik áitótsiniuaie* *she held him to the last one* (to the last lodge-pole).

Examples of the prefix *n a t s - last*:

*nátsaupiu támoxtokotauaists* *they* (in.) *then were given to the last one sitting* (the one sitting at the end).

*omiksi nátsaupiks* *those that sat at the end*.

*nátsainòpiua* *he is the last one beneath* (he is at the lowest end).

Examples of the use of *sakóóxt*, *sakóóxtsi* (*sakóóxtsik*, *sakóóxtsim*) *last*:  
*sakóóxtsim otáuaksini* *later on* (comes the story of) *his leading the buffalo*.

*anni sakóóxtsiks stámikiks* *then the last ones were the bulls*.

*otatómapôtsists ki sakóóxtsists* *the pieces of meat he had first brought in and the latter ones*.

Examples of the prefix *s a k o -* (*s a k o i -*) *last*:

*Sakóake* *Last-woman* (a woman's name).

*sakóapôtsists* *the last (latter) pieces of meat from a carcass*.

*sakóliipim* *he came in the last*.

*nítaxtsakoàumaykau* (= *nítóxtsakoàumaykau*) (that) *was the last one of them running*.

For some other verbal prefixes for *first* and *last* see § 116.

## § 66. Multiplying adverbs.

There are also multiplying adverbs in Blackfoot: *tókskai* *once*, *nátokai* *twice*, *niúókskai* *thrice*, *nisóyi* (*nisoái*) *four times*, *nisitóyi* *five times*, *náuyi* *six times*, *ixkitsíakai* *seven times*, *nánisoyi* *eight times*, *pixksóyi* *nine times*, *kepóyi* *ten times*. They are nearly all of them identical with the inanimate cardinals (cf. § 58). I do not find in our notes multiplying adverbs for higher numbers than *ten*, but doubtless they will be also identical with the corresponding inanimate forms of the cardinals. For *eleven times*, e.g., they will use *nitsikóputoyi*, for *twelve times* *natsikóputoyi*, for *twenty times* *nátsippoyi*, for *thirty times* *niippoyi*, for *a hundred times* *képipoyi*, etcet.

Another way of expressing *once*, *twice*, etcet., is to incorporate numeral prefixes into the verb (cf. § 59 and § 69), e.g.: *nitsitánistsi* *I did it once*, *nitsistókyánistsi* *I did it twice*, *nitsókskánistsi* *I did it thrice*, *nitsísánistsi* *I did it four times*, *nitsisitánistsi* *I did it five times*, *nitáuánistsi* *I did it six times*, *nitoḡkitsikyánistsi* *I did it seven times*, *nitánisánistsi* *I did it eight times*, *nitsipixksánistsi* *I did it nine times*, *nitsíppánistsi* *I did it ten times*.

## § 67. Distributive numerals (first series).

A way of forming distributive numerals is by prefixing *kanái-* *all* (*each*) (cf. § 56) to the animate and the inanimate numbers. Their value is *one to each*, *two to each*, etcet.

Animate.	Inanimate.
1 <i>kanáitokskami</i>	<i>kanáitokskai</i>
2 <i>kanáistokami</i>	<i>kanáistokai</i> , <i>kanáistokye</i>
3 <i>kanáiokskami</i>	<i>kanáiokskai</i>
4 <i>kanáisoyimi</i>	<i>kanáisöyi</i> , <i>kanáisoai</i>
5 <i>kanáisitsi</i>	<i>kanáisitoyi</i>
6 <i>kanauái</i>	<i>kanauái</i>
7 <i>kanáḡkitsikami</i>	<i>kanáḡkitsikai</i>
8 <i>kanáianisoyimi</i>	<i>kanáianisoyi</i> , <i>kanáianisoai</i>
9 <i>kanáipixksi</i>	<i>kanáipixksöyi</i>
10 <i>kanáipi</i>	<i>kanáipöyi</i>

These forms may be verbalized, e.g.: *kanáistokamiau* (an.), *kanáistokaiiau* (in.) *there are two to each*; *kanáiokskamiau* (an.), *kanáiokskaiiau* (in.) *there are three to each*, and so on by putting *-au-* behind the distributive.

Sometimes these distributive numbers are prefixed to nouns, e.g. to *nitóyis* *lodge* (*tipi*): *kanáitokskáitoyis* *one lodge to each*, *kanáistokyèttoyis* *two lodges to each*, *kanáiokskáitoyis* *three lodges to each*, *kanáisöyitoyis* *four lodges to each*, *kanáisitöyitoyis* *five lodges to each*, *kanauáitoyis* *six*

*lodges to each, kanâuxkitsikâitoyis seven lodges to each, kanâianisôyitoyis eight lodges to each, kanâipixksitoyis nine lodges to each, kanâipitoyis ten lodges to each.*

§ 68. Distributive numerals (second series).

By the side of the forms with *kanai-* treated in the preceding paragraph Blackfoot uses also relative verbal forms with the prefix *manist(s)-* according to, which, in the same way as the ordinals (§ 65), have the ending *-pi* in the animate, and *-xpi* in the inanimate gender. There is no difference of meaning between these distributives and those with *kanai-*.

Animate.	Inanimate.
1 <i>manistsitokskapi</i>	<i>manistsitokskaxpi</i>
2 <i>manistsistokapi</i>	<i>manistsistokaxpi</i>
3 <i>manistsokskapi</i>	<i>manistsokskaxpi</i>
4 <i>manistsisoyepi</i>	<i>manistsisoxpi</i>
5 <i>manistsisitsepi</i>	<i>manistsisitoxpi</i>
6 <i>manistâlixpi</i>	<i>manistâuoxpi</i>
7 <i>manistoχkitsikapi</i>	<i>manistoχkitsikaxpi</i>
8 <i>manistânisoyepi</i>	<i>manistânisoxpi</i>
9 <i>manistsipixkspi</i>	<i>manistsipixksoxpi</i>
10 <i>manistsippixpi</i>	<i>manistsippoxxpi</i>

Of course, these forms may take plural endings, e.g.: *manistsistokapiau* (an.), *manistsistokaxpia* (in.) *there are two to each*; *manistsokskapiau* (an.), *manistsokskaxpia* (in.) *there are three to each*, and so on.

Up from *ten* one can form distributives of either series, but they are seldom used.

§ 69. Numerals modified by prefixes.

As the reader will have observed already, nearly all the numerals, whether they are independent words or prefixes attached to nouns or verbs, undergo certain changes, whenever they are preceded by a compositional element of any kind. In such cases the *k* of *képo* *ten* and the *n-* of other numerals are dropped. As I have stated above (§ 58), the stem *nat-* (*natok-*) *two* never occurs after a compositional element, in contradistinction to its synonym *nist-* (*nistok-*), which after a prefix appears as *-ist-* (*-istok-*).

Examples (cf. § 59):

*-it-* (*-its-*) *one*, e.g. *kanâitokskami* (an.), *kanâitokskai* (in.) *one to each*; *nitsitânistsi* *I did it once*; *âitsikoputsiau* (an.), *âitsikoputoiau* (in.) *there are eleven*; *âitokskauniu* *it is one day or night*; *âitstuyimiu* *he is one*

year old; manistsítokskapi (an.), manistsítokskaxpi (in.) one to each (: nit-, nits-, -nit-, -nits- one).

-ist- (-ists-); -istok- (-istoki-) two, e.g. áistsikoputsiau (an.), áistsikoputoiau (in.) there are twelve; áistsippiau (an.), áistsippoiau there are twenty; nitsámistsitapiau they were only two persons; nitsitamitsixpinan kaytominaiks we (excl.) are the only war-chiefs still in life; kanáistokami (an.), kanáistokai (in.) two to each; noxkátsistókami also two (horses); áykaistokámi about two (fishes that are caught); namístokami only two (prairie-chickens); namistokiau only two (gambling-bones); nitsístokyanísti I did it twice; áistokiaunui it is two days or nights; áistokistuyimui he is two years old; ómoxtsístokaxpi (in.) second; manistsístokapi (an.), manistsístokaxpi (in.) two to each (: nist-, nists-, naiist-, naiists-, nistok-, nistoki- two).

-i- three, e.g. áikoputsiau (an.), áikoputoiau (in.) there are thirteen; áippiau (an.), áippoiau (in.) there are thirty (: ni- three, only in níkóputo thirteen, níppo thirty).

-oksk- three, e.g. stsikists itáioxskami nitsíniksiks other (days) I kill three of them (literally: three of them are my killings); ómíkskauki stámoxtsokskauóyiau then there the three went together; kanáioxskami three to each; nitsókskánísti I did it thrice; áioxskaunui it is three days or nights; áioxskastuyimui he is three years old; ómoxtsokskaxpi (in.) third; manistsokskapi (an.), manístokskaxpi (in.) three to each (: niuoksk- three).

-is-, -iso- four, e.g. kanáisoyimi (an.), kanáisóyi (in.) four to each; namisooiau (in.) they are only four; áisisoaxpi the four (things) he was fed with; nitsisoyisoau he was fed with four (things); nitsisánísti I did it four times; áisonui it is four days or nights; áisostuyimui he is four years old; ixpisóstuyimiauie they were four years with it; mátoxpisostuyimiau they were four years again with it; ómoxtsisoaxpi (in.) fourth; manistsísoyepi (an.), manistsísoxpi (in.) four to each (: nis-, niso- four).

-isit- (-isits-), -isito- five, e.g. kanáisitsi (an.), kanáisitoyi (in.) five to each; ómoxtsisitoxpi (in.) fifth; manistsisitsepi (an.), manistsísitoxpi (in.) five to each; nitsisitánísti I did it five times; áisitokstakui it counts five (: nisit-, nisits-, nisito- five).

-ai-, -au- six, e.g. kanauái (an. in.) six to each; nitáuánísti I did it six times; áunui it is six days or nights; áuáistuyimui he is six years old; ómoxtauoxpi (in.) sixth; manistáíixpi (an.), manistáuoxpi (in.) six to each (: nai-, nau- six).

-oxkitsíki-, -oxkitsik- seven, e.g. kanáuẏkitsikami (an.), kanáuẏkitsikai seven to each; nitóẏkitsikyánísti I did it seven times; áuẏkitsikiunui it is seven days or nights; áukitsikistuyimui he is seven years old; ómoxtauẏkitsikoxpi (in.) seventh; manístoxkitsikapi (an.), manístoxkitsikaxpi (in.) seven to each (: ixkitsíki-, ixkitsik- seven).

-anis-, -anisi-, -aniso- eight, e.g. kanáianisoyimi (an.), kanáianisoyi (in.) eight to each; noxkitáianisooiau then there were eight of

*them* (in.); *nitānisānistsi* *I did it eight times*; *ānisoniu* *it is eight days or nights*; *āuanisostuyīmiu* *he is eight years old*; *ōmoxtānisoχpi* (in.) *eighth*; *manistānisoyepi* (an.), *manistānisoχpi* (in.) *eight to each* (: *nanis-*, *nanisi-*, *naniso-* *eight*).

*-ipp-*, *-ippi-*, *-ippo-* *ten*, e.g. *kanāipi* (an.), *kanāipoyi* (in.) *ten to each*; *nitsippānistsi* *I did it ten times*; *āiponiu* *it is ten days or nights*; *āiippostuyīmiu* *he is ten years old*; *ōmoχtsippoχpi* (in.) *tenth*; *manistsippixpi* (an.), *manistsippoχpi* (in.) *ten to each*; *nātsippo* *twenty* (*two ten's*); *nīippo* *thirty* (*three ten's*), etc. (: *kep-*, *kepi-*, *kepo-* *ten*).

As to *pixks-*, *pixksi-*, *pixkso-* *nine*, I have already stated above, that it retains its initial consonant after prefixes.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### Verbs.

#### § 70. Introductory remarks.

When treating the nouns and other parts of speech, we have seen already how marked a predilection Blackfoot has for verbal constructions, and the knowledge of kindred languages has prepared us to meet also in this dialect with a complicate verbal system absorbing and incorporating all kinds of elements. Just the same as in the cognate languages, we find in Blackfoot the striking difference between the intransitive and transitive conjugations, a difference which, it is true, does not appear in the pronominal, modal, and other prefixes, but is clearly visible in the personal endings. Moreover, the transitive conjugation is divided into two distinct branches. Whereas in the intransitive conjugation only in certain groups of verbs the gender of the subject is indicated, and, as for the rest, the gender-classes are not reflected in the intransitive verbal form, the transitive verb, which does not in any case distinguish between an animate and an inanimate agens, possesses two different sets of personal endings according to the gender of the patiens. As we shall see in the next paragraph, the transitive conjugation is properly passive, at least in origin. By the side of the forms referring to an action performed by a definite agens, the transitive verb has also an indefinite passive. To the transitive verb belong besides reflexive and reciprocal forms.

Other deverbatives in Blackfoot are the causative-permissive, the causative proper, the accomodative, the frequentative. Derived from nouns are the transformative, the possessive, and the factitive verbs.

Blackfoot possesses three general moods, viz. the affirmative, the negative, and the interrogative, and distinguishes in its special moods between unrepressed and repressed statements. Different kinds of repression are reflected in the verb by different repressional moods.

Though this language possesses neither a true tense-system nor a true aspect-system, there are certain prefixes to express completion, futurity, duration (iteration) and many other distinctions, partly belonging to the sphere of time and aspect.

An interesting trait of the Blackfoot transitive verb is the antithesis of centripetality and centrifugality, which it has in common with other Algonquian languages.

Another striking feature of the Blackfoot verb is the presence of relative and dependent-interrogative suffixes, which are attached to intransitive as well as to transitive conjugational forms.



## § 71. Transitive and intransitive.

To illustrate what has been said in the preceding paragraph on the contrast of the intransitive, the transitive animate, and the transitive inanimate conjugation I shall give the indicative of the verb *to bite*: intransitive; transitive with singular and plural animate patiens of the third person; transitive with singular and plural inanimate patiens of the third person. The intransitive forms are given here with the durative prefix *ai-*. Of course, this prefix may be added also to the transitive animate and inanimate forms.

## Indicative.

	Intransitive.	Transitive an.	Transitive in.
Sing.			
1	nitáisikstaki	nitsiksipau(a)	nitsikstsixp
2	kitáisikstaki	kitsiksipau(a)	kitsikstsixp
3	áisikstakiu(a)	siksipíu(aie)	sikstsím(aie)
4	áisikstakinai	siksipínai	sikstsíminai
Plur.			
1 excl.	nitáisikstakixpinan(a)	nitsiksipanan(a)	nitsikstsixpinan(a)
1 incl.	áisikstakiop	siksipáu(a)	sikstsixp
2	kitáisikstakixpuau(a)	kitsiksipauau(a)	kitsikstsixpuau(a)
3	áisikstakiau(a)	siksipíau(aie)	sikstsímiau(aie)
Transitive an. plur.		Transitive in. plur.	
Sing.			
1	nitsiksipáiau	nitsikstsixpiaú	
2	kitsiksipáiau	kitsikstsixpiaú	
3	siksipíuaiks	sikstsímaists(i)	
4	siksipínaiaiks		
Plur.			
1 excl.	nitsiksipananiau	nitsikstsixpinaniau	
1 incl.	siksipáiau	sikstsixpiaú	
2	kitsiksipauaiau	kitsikstsixpuaiau	
3	siksipíauaiks	sikstsímiauaists(i)	

If we look into the formation of the transitive forms cited above, and compare them with the indefinite passive, which will be treated in § 73, we cannot but observe, that the greater part of them, animate as well as inanimate, are closely connected with the third person of the indefinite passive, and are to be considered as passive themselves. The passive character of the centripetal forms containing the element *-k* or *-ki* (cf. § 95) may be inferred from the comparison of the indefinite passive forms in *-ko* and has also been recognized by Dr. Michelson. As to the inanimate transitive forms of the type *nitsikstsixp I bite it*, *kitsikstsixp you*

*bite it*, etcet., it is quite evident that they are based on the indefinite passive third-person's-form *sikstsixp it is bitten* (= *sikstsixp we bite it*, inclusive), and that the original meaning must have been *it is bitten by me, it is bitten by you*, etcet. In the same way we are led to the assumption that the animate transitive forms of the type *nitsiksipau(a) I bite him*, *kitsiksipau(a) you bite him*, etcet., are based on the indefinite passive third-person's-form *siksipáu(a) he is bitten* (= *siksipáu(a) we bite him*, inclusive), and that they are properly passive, so that the accurate translation of *nitsiksipáu(a)*, *kitsiksipáu(a)* would be *he is bitten by me, he is bitten by you*. *Nitsiksipau(a) we bite him*, exclusive, and *kitsiksipáuau(a) you (pl.) bite him* contain the animate indefinite passive stem *siksipa-*, from which the form *siksipáu(a)* has been derived by means of the suffix *-u(a)* (cf. § 94). Difficult to be explained are the third persons *sikstsim he bites it* and *siksipíu he bites him*, and their corresponding plurals *sikstsimiau* and *siksipíau*, but considering the passive character of the other forms it is probable that they are also properly passive in origin. The passive character of the transitive conjugations makes us understand why the transitive forms with a first or a second person as agens and a third person, animate or inanimate, as patiens, in the negative conjugation have the suffix *-a t s*, which in the intransitive conjugation is confined to the third (and the fourth) person (cf. § 81). And we may also understand the use of the suffix *-i n a i* referring to the patiens of the fourth person in forms as *nitsiksipainai I bite fourth person*, *kitsiksipainai you bite fourth person*, whereas in the intransitive conjugation it refers to the subject only (cf. § 101). Evidently *-i n a i* is a fourth-person's suffix of the grammatical subject, and *nitsiksipainai*, *kitsiksipainai* mean properly *fourth person is bitten by me, fourth person is bitten by you*. Also in Ojibway, Cree, etcet., the transitive conjugations are passive in origin, as will be obvious to anybody who takes the trouble to compare the conjugational systems of those dialects with the Blackfoot verb. Nevertheless, in translating Algonquian texts it will be practical in most cases to render the so-called "active" forms by active constructions, and so I shall do throughout this grammar. The centripetal forms only are sometimes translated in quotations from the texts by a passive construction.

One of the greatest difficulties in Blackfoot grammar is the formation of the intransitive, transitive animate, and transitive inanimate verb-stems, which it is not easy to reduce to a few general rules, though it may be possible afterwards to establish a certain number of types. So, by this time, it is already sufficiently clear that a great number of intransitive stems is derived from the root by means of *-a k i* (*-a k i*) or *-t a k i* (*-t a k i*). To give an idea of the great irregularity in the formation of verbal stems it will be useful to cite a few examples:

*nitáuami I smell : nitáuamatau I smell him : nitáuamatoxp I smell it.*

*nitáuui I eat : nitáuatau I eat him : nitáuatoxp I eat it.*

*nitáisiimi I drink : nitáisimatau I drink him : nitáisimatoxp I drink it.*

nitáuyosi *I cook* : nitáuyosatau *I cook him* : nitáuyosatoxp *I cook it*.  
 nitáiaukstsimi *I chew* : nitáiaukstsimatau *I chew him* : nitáiaukstsimatoxp  
*I chew it*.

nitoxpátaki *I carry* : nitoxpátatau *I carry him* : nitoxpátatoxp *I carry it*.  
 nitáiiikskap *I pull* : nitáiiikskapatau *I pull him* : nitáiiikskapatoxp *I pull it*.  
 nitáisekaki *I kick* : nitáisekatau *I kick him* : nitáisekatoxp *I kick it*.  
 nitáisinistaki *I lick* : nitáisinipau *I lick him* : nitáisinistsixp *I lick it*.  
 nitáisinauiskitaki *I kiss* : nitáisinauiskipau *I kiss him* : nitáisinauiskitsixp  
*I kiss it*.

nitáutaki *I take* : nitótoau *I take him* : nitótsixp *I take it* (with many  
 compounds as nitáapistotaki *I arrange*, *I make* : nitáapistotoau *I arrange him*,  
*I make him* : nitáapistotsixp *I arrange it*, *I make it*; nitáikanyòtaki, nitái-  
 kannòtaki *I catch* : nitáikanyòtoau, nitáikannòtoau *I catch him* : nitáika-  
 nyotsixp, nitáikannòtsixp *I catch it*, etcet.).

nitáioxtsimi *I hear* : nitáioxttoau *I hear him* : nitáioxtsixp *I hear it*.

nitáiinaki, nitsinaki *I seize* : nitáiinau, nitsinau *I seize him* : nitáiinixp,  
 nitsinixp *I seize it* (with compounds as nitáispinaki, nitspinaki *I lift* : nitái-  
 spinau, nitspinau *I lift him* : nitáispinixp, nitspinixp *I lift it*).

nitoxpakóyisaki *I blow* : nitoxpakóyisau *I blow him* : nitoxpakóyisixp  
*I blow it*.

nitáikakiaki *I chop* : nitáikakiau *I chop him* : nitáikakixp *I chop it*.

nitáisatsaki *I plane* : nitáisatsau *I plane him* : nitáisatsixp *I plane it*.

nitáikaxksiststaki *I saw* : nitáikaxksistsimmau *I saw him* : nitáikax-  
 ksiststoyp *I saw it* (kaxksists-, kaxksiks- to saw).

nitáiaxsitaki *I am pleased* : nitáiaxsimmau *I am pleased with him* : nitáiax-  
 sitsixp *I am pleased with it* (áxsi good).

nitákomètaki *I love* : nitákomimmau *I love him* : nitákomètsixp *I love it*.

nitáiiisiststaki, nitásiststaki *I wash* : nitáiiisistsimmau, nitásistsimmau *I*  
*wash him* : nitáiiisistsstoyp, nitásistsstoyp *I wash it*.

There are also suppletive cases, such as:

nitáiàpi, nitsàpi *I see* : nitáinoau, nitsinoáu *I see him* : nitáinixp, nitsinixp  
*I see it*.

nitáisapi, nitsapi *I look* : nitáisammau *I look at him* : nitáisatsixp *I look*  
*at it*.

It needs scarcely to be said that there are many intransitive verbs, which,  
 because of their meaning, do not have transitive verbs by the side of them.  
 To this category belong also the unipersonal verbs, which will be treated  
 in the next paragraph.

## § 72. Unipersonal verbs.

The only person of the unipersonal verbs of Blackfoot, which correspond  
 to our "impersonal" verbs, is the third person singular. Such verbs are, e.g.:  
 áisòtau *it rains*, ikumaitau *it rains very hard*, áxpotau (áxputau) *it snows*,  
 áisaku (áisako) *it hails*, áipánmiu *it clears up*, áisopù *it blows*, stósopù *a*  
*cold wind blows* (it blows cold), áiksistsikò *it is day*, áikòkò *it is night*.

áutáko *it is evening*, apínako *it is morning*, áuto (moto-) *it is spring*, áipu (nepu-) *it is summer*, áuko (moko-) *it is autumn*, and probably a few more.

These verbs may occur in different moods, general (cf. § 81) as well as special (cf. § 82 sqq.), and may take different prefixes. Examples:

sota- *to rain* : áisótau *it rains*; mátaisótauats *it does not rain*; itsinim, omik máksotau *he then saw there was a rain coming*; ki autamákotstotauaie *and it was soon going to rain*; ákaiksistsótau *it has stopped raining*; áksótau *it is going to rain*; ákstaisótauats *will it not rain?*; kátáksótauats *will it rain?*; áxksikámsótau *it might rain*; áxksikámsaisótau *it might not rain*; sótaxs *if it rains*, minsótaxs *it must not rain*; nitást, máksotási *I think that it will rain*.

áxpota- *to snow* : áxpótau *it snows*; itóxpótau *then it snowed*; nitstsáu-ómáxkoxpótaii *when there is the last big snow*; mátxáxpótauats *it does not snow*; pótaxs *if it snows*; ikámáxpótasi *if it eventually snows*; ikámsáxpótasi *if it does not snow*; atotómokoxpótási *when it snowed again first in the fall*; istsitsáutoxpótasi *when the first snow comes*.

saku- (sako-) *to hail* : áisaku *it hails*; mátaisakuats *it does not hail*; kátáaisaku *does it hail?*; mátoimaiksistsakuats *it has not yet stopped hailing*; sákoys *if it hails*; minsákoys *it must not hail*.

-sopu- *to blow* : áisopù *it blows*; itstósopu *there was a cold wind*; áisamo itsiksopù *after a long while the wind stopped blowing*; ómoxtapsòpoxpi *from where the wind blew*; sópoxs *if it blows*; minsópoxs *it must not blow*; iiksopoxsisà *let it blow harder*.

Here belong the conjunctives as ksistsiküsi *during the day*, koküsi *during the night*, autaküsi *in the evening*, sauumáisopuüinakus *before it dawns*, autüsi (motüsi) *when it is spring*, áipüsi (népüsi) *when it is summer*, áuküsi (moküsi) *when it is autumn*.

### § 73. Indefinite passive.

To the animate transitive verb belongs an indefinite passive, which in the third (and the fourth) person has separate forms for the animate and the inanimate patiens. It is closely related to the corresponding Ojibway paradigm. Confining myself, however, to my own task, I shall give here first the indefinite passive indicative-forms of the verb *to bite*. It must be noticed that in the forms of the first and the second person there is virtually present an indefinite agens, so that, e.g., nitsiksipoko properly means: *I am bitten by (somebody)*. These forms are, in character and origin, akin to the centripetal forms, so far as they contain the same *k* or *ts* (cf. § 95 sqq.).

Sing.		Plur.	
1	nitsiksipoko	1	excl. nitsiksipotspinan
2	kitsiksipoko	1	incl. siksipóts
3	an. siksipáu(a)	2	kitsiksipokoau
4	an. siksipáinai	3	an. siksipáiau
3	in. sikstsíxp	3	in. sikstsíxpiau
4	in. sikstsíxpaie		

Examples illustrating the use of the indefinite passive indicative:

annóyk kitáksistsinixkako now you have got a name (now you have been given a name) (about the loss of the *k* in the verb-stem inixkat- cf. § 109).

nitstatsikistòkioko (= nitstatsikioxtòkiokò) I am hit between the ears.

nitsitomatsipioko omim Napaiinists-ikaitauaipoxtozpi, nisótamitotsipioko then I was brought away to Conrad (literally: Where-they-used-to-freight-the-flour-from), then I was brought there.

ikamiókainiki, kitákoksistotòko if you eventually sleep, you will be treated badly.

mátaksinitaua omá pokáu, annóm ákstamitskitau that child will not be killed, he will be left here.

itáxkótaua omi inákoxtsiu átsinaiiu then she was given that small piece of fat.

eini itapipiau nitoxkéman my wife is taken away to the buffalo.

ákanistau Isókskitsinai he will be called Ashes-chief.

omi ksikunistai áitòmoau that white buffalo-calf was skinned for him.

nitákaua ánitau my partner is killed.

iwátaiixkin he (4 p.) was eaten (containing the relative suffix -ixk).

áuksistotòainai he (4 p.) is treated badly.

istatáinai he (4 p.) was thought.

ákoxtokuskusinòts(p) we (incl.) shall be known by means of (him).

ákitòtsinotspiau we (incl.) shall be caught by means of (them).

axkumaiápitaxsaxkototsp our (incl.) people must be singing praise-songs to us (incl.) now (we, incl., must be sung praise-songs to).

ákauksistotòtsp we (incl.) shall be treated badly.

isóxtsik aistámatsotsp we (incl.) are shown a warning for the future.

ákitautotsòtsp, mistsisasòkii we (incl.) then shall be burnt, if we (incl.) turn into wood.

áuauapoxsàtstatp we (incl.) are being fattened.

ákitaisimətsp, áxkéuasoki people will drink us (incl.), if we (incl.) turn into water.

ákainitsp, auákasiuasòki we (incl.) shall be killed, if-we (incl.) turn into antelope.

ákaitaukskitp we (incl.) are deserted.

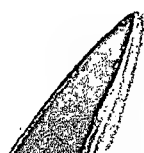
áumòtsaiu they were all killed (massacred).

itáinitàiau they are killed.

Often we find -aii instead of -aiay in the third person plural (cf. § 104):

áikskoxtoiinaminai initái (initáii) it looked, very many of them were killed.

ánnyaiè ákauànistotoaii imáikimokaiks ki kitoxkémanuniks isksinóaiks that way will be treated the lovers of the wives of other people, and our (incl.) wives that we (incl.) know (as having a lover) (notice also the indefinite passive form isksinóaiks with nominal plural-ending).



nòxpsiists ásuyekàii *my arrows were spilled.*

kitákàu áinitaii otákàiks *your partner's partners are killed.*

I have still to mention a very curious form of the third person singular indefinite passive, ending in - o p and indifferent as to gender (cf. § 94), e.g.

áisamo matsipiskiop *after a long while they had (there was had) another buffalo-corralling.*

ixtsitókiiimiop *he therefore then was laughed at by all.*

áistamisokaniop *then suddenly there would be said.*

óxkotoki ákaitaisuyixtakiop *they have (there was had) already a stone in the fire.*

paiotákokiop *it was built out of two lodges.*

kaiópa moyists? *what happened to the lodges? (the -a of kaiópa characterizes it as an interrogative form).*

itāxkannitaiopiop *they all entered there (there was entered by all).*

itáutoiomiop *they came to marry him (he was come to for marrying him).*

áikakòtotsop *they all just moved (there was just moved by all).*

sotámopakiop *then they moved (then there was moved).*

ixpsitoksistsināpiksop *it was (thrown) between buffalo-hoofs.*

itsipápokapāxpapokàio *I (properly: he) was happy being blown about.*

In the following two examples - o p has been contracted with the ending - a of the verbal stem:

ixtsitákotatsiksisāup *then they began to run over him (then he was beginning to be run over).*

ánniaie ksiksauātāxkōnimaup *that was what happened to be found of him.*

There are also indefinite passive forms of the repressional moods. I shall first give some examples of the conjunctive (cf. § 85):

sotámāxsitakiinai, einiu potomóys *then he was pleased that the buffalo were turned loose for him.*

otáiskunakaisi, ki itāxkúmiskau *when he was shot at, then he yelled.*

ki amáie Pikséksinaitapiua itasáinixkotsiu (itasáinixkitsiu?), aitsināxsi otsinaim otokānists *and the Snake Indians cried in a rush, when their chief was held by his hair.*

anniskāie sikūnistāin, sokāpiitāxsaie *there is a white buffalo-calf, that it may be skinned well.*

annāk nisisak āuāniu, āxksuyisksānōiās *my younger brother there says that he wants curly arrows to be made for him.*

nimátstāxp, nitákàu āxksinitāys *I do not think that my partner is killed.*  
iskunātāpsuia áistamuniniuatāu, āxkūsimmāys *then the strong warrior was picked out that he might be a son-in-law (properly: that he might be had as a son-in-law).*

ninaiks itástaiāu, āxkatoxkoixtsimāysau *then the chiefs think that the people will praise them again (properly: that they will be praised again)*

Examples of the indefinite passive subjunctive (cf. § 86):

iskunátayki if he was shot at.

ikamistokitòayk if he was shot through the body.

sapistòtoayk if he was satisfied.

#### § 74. Reflexive and reciprocal.

The reflexive is based on the transitive animate stem and characterized by a suffix  $-o\chi s(i)$ , but has the personal endings of the intransitive verbs. Examples:

nítspinoxsi I lift myself, spínoxsiu he lifts himself : nítspinau I lift him, spíniu he lifts him.

nítákanoxsi I hurt myself, ákanoxsiu he hurts himself : nítákanau I hurt him, ákaniau he hurts him.

nítáisammoxsi I look at myself, áisammoxsiu he looks at himself : nítáissammau I look at him, áissammiu he looks at him.

nítákomimmoxsi I love myself, ákomimmoxsiu he loves himself : nítákomimmau I love him, ákomimmiu he loves him.

nítáisistsimmoxsi (nításistsimmoxs) I wash myself, áisistsimmoxsiu (ásistsimmoxsiu) he washes himself : nítáisistsimmou (nításistsimmou) I wash him, áisistsimmou (ásistsimmou) he washes him.

The reflexive idea may be strengthened by the prefix  $a u a t-$ , which also in non-reflexive verbal forms occurs with the meaning *self* (see § 31). E.g. ánni-aykanistauatsiksipoxsiau let them bite themselves, mínáuatsiksipoxsit do not bite yourself, nimátauauatsiksipoxsipa I do not bite myself.

Here follows the indicative of the reflexive conjugation of *to bite*:

Sing.	Plur.
1 nitsiksipoxs(i)	1 excl. nitsiksipoxsipian
2 kitsiksipoxs(i)	1 incl. siksipoxsop
3 siksipoxsiu	2 kitsiksipoxspuau
4 siksipoxsinaí	3 siksipoxsiau

The formation of the general and special moods does not give any trouble, because, as I have said above, the conjugation of the reflexive differs in no respect from that of the intransitive. The imperative, e.g., is siksipoxsit bite yourself, siksipoxsik bite yourselves, etcet. Examples of the negative indicative are: nimátsiksipoxsipa I do not bite myself, kimátsiksipoxsipa you do not bite yourself, mátsiksipoxsiuats he does not bite himself, mátsiksipoxsopa we (incl.) do not bite ourselves, nimátsiksipoxsipinana we (excl.) do not bite ourselves, kimátsiksipoxspuaua you (pl.) do not bite yourselves, mátsiksipoxsiuauksau they do not bite themselves. And of the interrogative indicative: nikátaiaisiksipoxsipa do I bite myself?, kíkataiaisiksipoxsipa do you bite yourself?, kátaiaisiksipoxsiuats does he bite himself?, kátaiaisiksipoxsopa do we (incl.) bite ourselves?, níkátaiaisiksipoxspinana do we (excl.) bite ourselves?, kíkataiaisiksipoxspuaua do you (pl.) bite yourselves?, kátaiaisiksipoxsiuauksau do they bite themselves? A

subjunctive is, e.g. ikámsiksipoḡsiēniki if *I bite myself* (also if *you bite yourself*; and, eventually, if *he bites himself*), with its negative counterpart ikámsaisiksipoḡsiēniki if *I do not bite myself* (if *you do not bite yourself*, if *he does not bite himself*).

In the reciprocal conjugation, which also has the intransitive endings, the transitive animate stem has the suffix -tsi- (-tse-) or -o-tsi- (-o-tse-). Here are some examples from our texts and notes:

āpskatsēiau (āpskatsīiau) *they are betting together*.

ānistseiau: ākiuaxtau amóksi kipitákeks *they said to each other: I wonder what these old women will be doing*.

itsinóyiu omíksim ómaykokaṭāii, astsitsotseiaiks *he then saw, there were gophers, they were burying each other (in the ashes)*.

āḡkunikipstsimotsēiop *let us (incl.) wrestle for a while*.

āisammotsīiau (āisammotseiau) *they look at one another*.

akomimmotsīiau *they love each other* (a shorter form *akomētsīiau* is used in the sense of: *they are intimate friends of the same age, they are partners*).

The reciprocity may be emphasized by means of the prefix *pot-*, which combines with the durative infix *-ai-* to *paiot-* (often we find *paiotai-* = *p-ai-ot-ai-* with *ai-* as infix and as prefix). E.g. *istsipótoḡsiniautsiis* *they then must kill each other*, *istsipótoḡsiniautsīiau* *they then killed each other*, *nitsipótaisiksipotsēixpinan* *we (excl.) are biting each other*, *paiótaisiksipotsēop* *we (incl.) are biting each other*.

Pretty often the prefix *aua t-* *self* (cf. § 31) is attached to reciprocal forms, e.g. *kitáuataisiksipotsēixpuau* *you (pl.) are biting each other*, *áuataisiksipōtseiau* *they are biting each other*, *kátaiauataisiksipotseopa* *do we (incl.) bite each other?*, *kikátaiauataisiksipotseixpuaua* *do you (pl.) bite each other?*, *kátaiauataisiksipotseiauaiksau* *do they bite each other?*, *mátauataisiksipotseopats* *we (incl.) do not bite each other*, *mátauatsiksipotseiauaiksau* *they do not bite each other*.

The reciprocal indicative of *to bite* is as follows:

Plur.	Plur.
1 excl. nitsiksipotsēixpinan	2 kitsiksipotsēixpuau
1 incl. šiksipotsēiop	3 siksipōtsīiau

The imperative of the second person is *siksipotsiik bite each other*. In the same way the conjunctive, etcet., with the intransitive endings. Examples of different forms are already given above.

#### § 75. Causative-permissive and causative proper.

Causative-permissive derivatives are formed from the intransitive stems by means of the suffix *-ats-*. They have, of course, the transitive animate endings, e.g. *kitsiktakiatso* *I make you bite (I allow you to bite)*, *nitsiktakiatsau* *I make him bite (I allow him to bite)*, *nitsiktakiatsaiau*



*I make them bite (I allow them to bite), kitsikstakiatsoki you make me bite (you allow me to bite), sikstakiatsiu he makes him bite (he allows him to bite) (cf. the intransitive verb nitáisikstaki, nitsikstaki I bite, áisikstakiu, sikstakiu he bites).*

Such causative-permissive verbs are:

nitáuysatsau *I make him eat, I allow him to eat* : nitáuysi *I eat.*

nitáisimiatsau *I make him drink, I allow him to drink* : nitáisimi *I drink.*

nitáipuyatsau *I make him speak, I allow him to speak* : nitáipuyi *I speak.*

nitáiokatsau *I make him sleep, I allow him to sleep* : nitáiòk *I sleep.*

nitáimiatsau *I make him laugh, I allow him to laugh* : nitáimi *I laugh.*

nitáioxtsimiatsau *I make him hear, I allow him to hear* : nitáioxtsimi *I hear.*

nitoxpatakiatsau *I make him carry, I allow him to carry* : nitoxpátaki *I carry.*

Another causative formation, which may be designated as "causative proper", is characterized by the suffix *-(i)pi-*. In my texts and notes there occur a good many of such verbs, e.g.:

ki aitotsipiaie *and then he brought him there (cf. oto- to come to, to go to).*

nisótamitotsipiòko *then I was brought there (cf. oto-, as above).*

ázkápiòkit *make me go home (take me home) (cf. nitázkai I go home, ázkáiiu he goes home).*

kitákitapipio *I shall make you go there (I shall bring you there) (cf. apo- to travel, to walk about).*

omi otsisoɣkeman itsitápiu omim nitúmmoyim *he made go (he took) his youngest wife to that butte (cf. apo-, as above).*

póxsapípis omi pókái *bring that child here (cf. póxsapo he comes here, and apo-, as above).*

omíksim ksískstakii otsitsuièpiòkaiksi *he was taken into the water by some beavers there (cf. soo- to go into the water, sui- in the water or into the water).*

ki omíksí saraíks itomátapipstsiuia *and then he began to bring in those geese (ipistsipi-, causative of ipistsi- to be inside).*

itsipstsiipiauafe nokóai *they took him in to my lodge (as the foregoing example).*

## § 76. Accommodative.

A very important group of secondary verbs are the accommodative, which have the semantic value of "doing something for somebody", "doing something agreeable or disagreeable in regard to somebody" (also of "doing something instead of somebody"), and are most times formed by means of the suffix *-mo-* or *-to-mo-*, e.g.:

nitáikakomoau *I chop for him* : nitáikakiaki *I chop.*

nitástamoau *I hammer in for him* : nitástaki *I hammer in.*

nitáuatomoau *I eat for him* : nitáuysi *I eat.*

nitáisikstomoau *I bite for him* : nitáisikstaki *I bite*.

There are also irregularly formed accommodative verbs, e.g.

nitáinoxtoau *I boil for him* : nitáinixt *I boil*.

nitáixketoau *I cook for him* : nitáixket *I cook*.

nitáisapiau *I look for him* : nitáisapi *I look*.

nitáuylau *I cook for him* : nitáuysi *I cook*.

It will be desirable to illustrate the use of the accommodative verbs by examples from the texts (cf. § 13):

ki omi otsinaimoauai osókàsimi otsitánnitsiniautomòk *and their chief tore (that man's) clothes to pieces for him*; otoḡkanáistotòḡsists ixkanáuannitsinotomoàuaists *all his clothes were torn to pieces for him*; ostói otátsápsinai, ixtánnitsinotomoau *it was his own foolishness, that he had his clothes torn for him* (cf. nitanitsiniotaki *I tear*).

ki saúotomoàiau *and they were scalped (and they were taken away their scalps for them)*; ki itsáutomoyiuaie otokâni *and then he scalped him (and then he took away his scalp for him)*; oxsoyisai átsitsáutomoyiuaie *and also his tail he pulled out for him*; oápspsiksai itsáutomoyiuaie *he then pulled out his eyes for him* (from saúot-, saut- *to take off, to take out*).

nitókskam, nòkòs, mátsipummàpi, káḡkotomòks *he is my only child, it is not good that you take him away for me (from me)*; omá Maistópana Okoáisai mátomoyiuaie otátosini *Crow-arrow took away from Belly-fat his wonderful power*; Naáḡsinana nitáutomokinan nimoxtastsinaxpinanists *the Government (our, excl., grandfather) took our (excl.) ration-tickets away from us*; mātakitstsixpa, káḡkotomòki amóksi osákiks *there will be none that will take these back-fats away from you* (from mat-, -ot- *to take*).

otá pistotomòkai nátòkaie suisksánoiòs *she (4 p.) made two for him, when she made curly arrows for him*; á, kitákitapo, kitákipapistotomo auáami *yes, you will go, I shall quickly make you (a pair of) snow-shoes* (cf. nitá pistotaki *I make*).

áio, ámói kipóḡksistáuatomokit *help me, quickly raise this one for me*; noḡksistáuatomokit *please, raise him for me* (-istauatomo- *to make grow for somebody*, cf. -istauasi- *to grow*).

sotámáḡsitakiinai, einiu potomóḡs *then he (4 p.) was pleased (thought good), that the buffalo were turned loose for him* (cf. nitáipotoau *I loose him*).

omi ksikunistai áitòmoau *that white buffalo-calf (4 p.) was skinned for him (3 p.)* (better perhaps: *he had that white buffalo-calf skinned for him*, but the verb is an indefinite passive) (cf. nitáitaki, nitsiitaki *I skin*).

ákstamasikomoauaie *and (that oily leg-bone) would be broken for him* (from sik- *to break*).

ki itáitsotsistsinatomoau *and then he was yelled for* (i.e. *then the women yelled in his honour*) (cf. nitáitsotsistsin *I yell*).

annáitsinomòkit, kepúyi atsiki ánaie anistsaitsinomòkit *now make me moccasins; ten pair of moccasins, sew them for me*; noḡkitápapikanitsino-

mòkit *please, make me a pair of scabby moccasins* (cf. áuaitsinimau *he makes moccasins*).

ákitsipstsàpixtomoyuaie : ámoi kitótsisisin *then he would hand him in (his smoke) : here is your smoke*; omá áitapiskatsimàu áisapoxtomoàu *the Sun-dancer is given a pipe* (cf. nitáisapixtaki *I put in*).

omá ninau omí otánni minipokáinai omá manikâpiu ánnayaie áuaxkisko-moàu *a chief's daughter, a child of plenty, was driven home to that young man* (the real subject of the sentence is omá manikâpiu); kanáitapiua ákstamsksinim, áiaua áxkiskumoau *then everybody would know, a certain person (so-and-so) had a wife sent home to him* (cf. nitáxkiskoau *I drive him home*).

otákatsimmoixkaxkoxtomòkaie (perhaps there is something wrong with the syllables -kaxkoxt-), máxkoxtòtàs *he (4 p.) would pray for him, that he might get a horse* (cf. nitauátsimmoixk *I pray*).

ákéks otsinixkotomòkoaiau *the women (4 p.) sang for them* (cf. nitáinixki, nitsinixki *I sing*).

ansátoxtomòxsi *taste for yourself now* (here we have a reflexive form of the accommodative) (cf. isatópokit *taste me*, ítsatopiuaie *then he tasted him*).

saáxtsi itauápiomoaiau *outside there was a shade built for them* (outside they had a shade built for them); nitúyi nitsitásapiomoaii *in the same way there was a shade built for them*; ki apinákuyi nitsitápajakapiomoanan (the text has -apiopomoanan, which must be wrong) *and next morning we (excl.) began to make a shelter for him* (cf. nitáuapim *I make a shelter*).

otoxpóksimiks áxkanáxtapauànatsistsinomoyuaiks motokânists *for all his companions he cut a small piece of the scalp for each* (cf. nitsistsinitaki *I cut*).

mánistàmi axkunótakiòp, áxkitsistsitomoaiiks osókàsoaists *let us (incl.) get a lodge-pole, that we (incl.) push their dresses in for them* (cf. itsúiiistsitsimiaists *they then pushed them, viz. the dresses, in to the fire*).

náxkitstsiskòkòa *that I may have a sweat-lodge made for me*; sotámitsiskòaua *then there was a sweat-lodge made for him* (then he had a sweat-lodge made for him); ánnauk Páieua, kaxkitsiskoaiixk *there is Scar-face, that you make a sweat-lodge for him* (cf. ixtsiskau *he makes a sweat-lodge*).

kipóxkit, suyisksánoiòkit *make haste, make a curly arrow for me*; nox-kitápsuisksánoiòkit *please, make a curly arrow for me*; annák nisisák áuanu, áxksuyisksánoiàs *my younger brother there says that he wants curly arrows to be made for him*.

## § 77. Frequentative.

As I have already mentioned in § 8, there are in Blackfoot frequentative verbs characterized by the suffix -(e)pitsi, used in an unfavourable sense. Such are:

kamósiepitsiu *steals repeatedly, steals always, has the bad habit of stealing* : áikamosiu *steals*.

kámaniepitsiu *is always begging, has the bad habit of begging* : áukamaniu *begs*.

epúyepitsiu *talks away, has the bad habit of talking too much* : áipuyiu *talks*.

asániepitsiu *cries always, has the annoying habit of crying* : áuasainiu *cries (weeps)*.

áitskápitsiu *is always fighting, has the bad habit of fighting* : áitskau  *fights*.

### § 78. Transformative.

Passing on to some groups of denominative verbs, I mention in the first place the transformative, which are characterized by the suffix *-àsi-*, e.g. *matápiuàsiu turns into a person* (: *matápi person*), *akéuàsiu turns into a woman* (: *áké woman*), *saxkúmapiuàsiu turns into a boy (turns out to be a boy)* (: *saxkúmapi boy*), *akékoānàsiu turns into a girl (turns out to be a girl)* (: *akékoān girl*), *einiuàsiu turns into a buffalo* (: *eini buffalo*), *imitáuàsiu turns into a dog* (: *imitá dog*), *imitáikoānàsiu turns into a puppy* (: *imitáikoān puppy*), *apí'siuàsiu turns into a wolf* (: *apí'si wolf, coyote*), *áuakàsiuàsiu turns into an antelope* (: *áuakàsi antelope*), *sistsiuàsiu turns into a bird* (: *sistsi bird, especially small bird*), *paytókàsiu turns into a pine-tree* (: *paytókí pine-tree*), *mistsisàsiu turns into a tree (turns into wood)* (: *mistsis tree, log, stick, piece of wood*), *matúyixkoàsiu turns into grass* (: *matuyis grass*), *ókotokàsiu turns into a rock* (: *ókotòki stone, rock*), *áxkéuàsiu turns into water* (: *áxke water*).

Examples from the texts:

omim otsitáupixp, mátseniuats, ki itsitápiuasiu *where he stayed, he did not die, and then he turned into a person*; omá suiéstamik ki oxkói itsitápiuàsiu *that water-bull and his son then turned into persons*.

itsitápo Mékyotokāni, áiistožkoyiuaie, itákeuàsiu *he then went to Red-head, he came close to him, he then turned into a woman*.

amóxk pokáuayk saxkúmapiuàsis, anistsisau, initaysauaie, akékoānàsisaiie, máksitaxsauaie *if this child is a boy, say to them that they kill him, if it is a girl, that they wrap her up*.

itsíniuasin, áxké stámitsuiāxpàuanin *he (4 p.) then turned into a buffalo, then he (4 p.) jumped into the water*; annó omá saxkúmapiu ixtsitsapomaykau, einiuasiu *here that boy followed running, he turned into a buffalo*; amó ótapisin itoxkánainiuàsiu *these many people all turned into buffalo*.

omá suiéstamikā omí matápioksisakūyi, ákaumitauàsiu, askyxpau móksákuiuaie *that water-bull had the human flesh, (that) had turned into a dog, always under his arm*.

omá Nápiua itómitaikoānàsiu *then the Old Man turned into a puppy*.

ákaitaiuapi'siuàsiu oápsspiks *he then had turned already into a wolf about his eyes.*

âxkstamauâkasiuasopa *let us (incl.) then turn into antelope; âkainitsp, auâkasiuasòki we (incl.) shall be killed, if we (incl.) turn into antelope.*

âxkstamisistsiuasopa *let us (incl.) turn into birds.*

kénnauk stámitaxtokàsiu *and then it was, he turned into a pine-tree.*

âxkunistsisàsop *let us (incl.) turn into trees; axkúnistsisàsopa let us (incl.) turn into wood; âkitautotsòtsp, mistsisàsókii we (incl.) then shall be burnt, if we (incl.) turn into wood; âmoi píxkoxtsi nitákitsts, nitáksistsisàs I shall lie here in front of the door, I shall turn into a log.*

âxkunotùixkoàsop *let us (incl.) turn into grass; âxkstamotuyixkoasop then let us (incl.) turn into grass.*

nitsitonoaiu, otóxkotokàs *I then recognized them, that they had turned into rocks; annóxk amóksim einiks ómoxtóxkòtokaspi, isóxtsik aistámatsotsp the reason why these buffalo now turned into rocks was that we (incl.) were shown a warning for the future; amóksi stámikiks otsitóxkotokàsp where these bulls had turned into rocks; âxkunoxkotokàsop let us (incl.) turn into rocks.*

âxkstamâxkeuasopa *then let us (incl.) turn into water; âkitaisimatsp, âxkèuasoki people will drink us (incl.), if we (incl.) turn into water.*

## § 79. Possessive.

The possessive verbs are ordinarily derived, not immediately from the noun-stem, but from the possessive noun-form of the third person, and designate, with intransitive endings, that one possesses the person or thing expressed by the noun, or, with transitive endings, that one has somebody or something in the function of that person or thing. In certain cases, principally or exclusively in the third person (and the fourth person based thereon) the *o-* of the possessive noun-form is substituted by *i-* (*e-*), but after a prefix we find, even in such cases, the *o* restored. Where the possessive noun-form of the third person has *u-* instead of *o-*, the substitution of the possessive prefix by *i-* (*e-*) never occurs.

Examples of possessive verbs:

nitóxkoyi *I have a son, oxkóyiu he has a son; nitáuoxkoyimau I have him as a son (for a son), âuxkoyimiu he has him as a son (for a son) : oxkói his son.*

nitaiüsi *I have a son-in-law, áiüsiu he has a son-in-law; nitáiüsimmau I have him for a son-in-law, áiüsimmiu he has him for a son-in-law : üsi his son-in-law.*

nitúnni *I have a father, únniu he has a father; nitúnnimau, nitáunimau I have him as a father (for father), áunimiu he has him as a father (for father) : únni his father.*

nitoksistsi *I have a mother, iksistsiu (-oksistsiu) he has a mother : oksistsi his mother.*

nituskáni *I have a younger brother*, uskánui he has a younger brother;  
nituskánimau *I have him as a younger brother (for a younger brother)*,  
uskánimui he has him as a younger brother (for a younger brother) :  
uskáni *his younger brother*.

ikòsiu, ékòsiu, áukòsiu *she is with child*, ákawkòsiu *she has already a child born*; nitokòsimau *I have him as a child (for a child)*, okòsimui he has him as a child (for a child) : ókòs *his child*.

nitótàsi *I have a horse*, ótàsiu he has a horse : ótàs *his horse*.

nitokóyi *I have a lodge*, ikóyiui, ekóyiui, áukóyiui (-okóyiui) he has a lodge : okóai *his lodge*.

otsinixkàsimiui he has a name : otsinixkàsini *his name*.

There occur, however, possessive verbs of different types, e.g. otoḡ-káuotànis *because he has got a shield*, nimátópimixp *I had no rope* (cf. áuotàni *shield* and apis *rope*, nitópim *my rope*).

Leaving such divergent types alone, I shall confine myself here to a few quotations from the texts to illustrate the use of the most common type described above:

nitsiksikimmaui omá akékoän; sákiunniui, sákioksistsiu *I pity that girl very much; she has still a father, she has still a mother*.

ánnixkaie nímoḡtokòs *from that it was, I had a child*; matsépuyi omí otánni otámokosin *next summer his daughter gave birth to a child*; mátaḡ-siua, kipitákeks máḡkawukòsi *it is not good, that old women should have children*; há, káḡkawukokos *ah, you must just have a child*; tsíki, isatópokit, kitokòsim *little boy, taste me, I have you as a child (you are my child)*.

aḡkúnopòkàḡkaioip, kitáküsini *let us (incl.) go home together, I shall have you as a son-in-law*.

osótamaiüskanimokàiks *they (4 p.) then had him for a younger brother*; kitáiuskànim *I have you for a younger brother*.

máḡkoḡkòtàs, máḡkaḡsapauauaḡkàni *that he might get a horse, that he might go about all right*.

ánnimaie itokóyiui Natósiu *there the Sun has a lodge*; nitakokoyiui he had a lodge of his own; mátokoyiuats (*the men of the ancient Peigan tribe*) had no lodges; nátsitapiui omiksi ekóyiks, omá ninaui ki omí otoḡkéman *there were two persons, the owners of the lodge, a man and his wife*.

About the part the possessive verbs play in this language cf. § 19.

## § 80. Denominative characterized by -ka-

A third group of denominative verbs is characterized by the suffix -ka-, and designates that one makes the thing expressed by the noun-stem. Examples:

nitáitsikixk *I make moccasins*, áitsikixkau he makes moccasins, cf. matsikin, atsikin *moccasin*.

átsikitsikixkau he makes shoes, cf. itsikitsikin *shoe*.

áietaykau he makes a saddle, cf. eétan (iitan) *saddle*.

áinamaxkau *he makes a gun*, cf. námau *gun*.

áukspikainàmaxkau *he makes a (sticky) bow*, cf. akspikainàma *(sticky) bow*.

áutaskau *he makes a horse (out of mud, or the like) : ótás his horse*.

itokóiiiskàiau *then they built (made) houses*, cf. okóai *his lodge, his home*.

áisuiòpoksokoiskàu *he makes a leaf-lodge (to be assumed because of suiòpoksokoiskàni leaf-lodge)*, cf. the preceding example.

ánnaie nóxkanistaitsiuaçkaiau *that is the way they made the gambling-wheel*, cf. itsiuan (*itsiwan*) *gambling-wheel*.

ixtsitsekaxkàuaists *he then made a bed out of them (in.)*, cf. sekâni *bed*.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### Verbs (*continued*).

#### § 81. General moods.

##### Affirmative, negative, interrogative, dubitative.

Blackfoot has three general moods, the affirmative, the negative, and the interrogative (to which, if one prefers to do so, a fourth, the dubitative, might be added). It stands to reason, that the affirmative conjugation is the basis on which the interrogative and the negative system is built up. It is not easy to know the negative conjugation in all its forms, as the different special moods, to a certain extent, use different negative prefixes, and as there are also many characteristic changes in the personal endings (shared, as we shall see below, by the interrogative conjugation), which cannot be formulated in a few short rules. It is true, such changes in the personal endings are confined to the indicative-system, and that only so far as it forms its negative by means of the prefix *ma t-*, which, in contradistinction to the nearly homonymous prefix with the meanings *again, also, another,* never loses its initial *m*. To show the differences in the personal endings I shall give the affirmative and negative indicative of the verb *to carry*: intransitive; transitive with singular and plural animate patiens of the third person; transitive with singular and plural inanimate patiens of the third person.

##### Indicative intransitive.

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Sing.		
1	nitoꝥpátaki	nimátoꝥpátakixpa
2	kitóꝥpátaki	kimátoꝥpátakixpà
3	ixpátakeiu(á)	mátoꝥpátakeiuats
4.	ixpátakeinai	mátoꝥpátakeiuatsinai
Plur.		
1 excl.	nitoꝥpátakeixpinan(a)	nimátoꝥpátakeixpinana)
1 incl.	ixpátakeiop	mátoꝥpátakeiopa
2	kitoꝥpátakeixpuau(a)	kimátoꝥpátakeixpuaua
3	ixpátakeiau	mátoꝥpátakeiauksau



## Indicative transitive animate.

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Sing.		
1	nitoxpátau(a)	nimátōxpátauats
2	kitoxpátau(a)	kimátōxpátauats
3	ixpátsiu(aie)	mátōxpátsiuats(aie)
4	ixpátsinai	mátōxpátsiuatsinai
Plur.		
1 excl.	nitoxpátanan(a)	nimátōxpátananats
1 incl.	ixpátau(a)	mátōxpátauats
2	kitoxpátauau(a)	kimátōxpátauauats
3	ixpátsiau(aie)	mátōxpátsiauats(aie)

## Indicative transitive an. plur.

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Sing.		
1	nitoxpátauau	nimátōxpátauauatsau
2	kitoxpátauau	kimátōxpátauauatsau
3	ixpátsiuauks	mátōxpátsiuauatsau(aie)
4	ixpátsinaiaiks	mátōxpátsinaiaiks
Plur.		
1 excl.	nitoxpátananiau	nimátōxpátananiauatsau
1 incl.	ixpátauau	mátōxpátauauatsau
2	kitoxpátauauau	kimátōxpátauauauatsau
3	ixpátsiauaiks	mátōxpátsiauaiksau

## Indicative transitive inanimate.

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Sing.		
1	nitoxpátōxp	nimátōxpátōxpat
2	kitoxpátōxp	kimátōxpátōxpat
3	ixpátom(aie)	mátōxpátom(ats)(aie)
4	ixpátominai	mátōxpátomatsinai
Plur.		
1 excl.	nitoxpátōxpinan(a)	nimátōxpátōxpinanats
1 incl.	ixpátōxp	mátōxpátōxpat
2	kitoxpátōxpau(a)	kimátōxpátōxpauats
3	ixpátomiāu(aie)	mátōxpátomaiksau(aie)

## Indicative transitive in. plur.

## Affirmative.

## Negative.

## Sing.

1	nitoxpátōxpiau	nimátōxpátōxpaisau
2	kitoxpátōxpiau	kimátōxpátōxpaisau
3	ixpátōmaists(i)	mátōxpátōmaistsau
4		

## Plur.

1 excl.	nitoxpátōxpianiau	nimátōxpátōxpinaaistsau
1 incl.	ixpátōxpiau	mátōxpátōxpaisau
2	kitoxpátōxpuaiau	kimátōxpátōxpuaaistsau
3	ixpátōmiauaists(i)	mátōxpátōmaiksauaists

In some cases there are other equivalent forms by the side of those adopted in my paradigms. So, for example, the ending *-ats* has an equivalent *-atsiks*, though I am not quite certain that *-atsiks* may be substituted for *-ats* wherever this latter occurs. In the negative transitive forms of the first and second persons with an inanimate patients of the singular there is some wavering between *-a* and *-ats*, but the latter seems to be the more common ending. By the side of *mátōxpátōmaiksau* *they do not carry it* and *mátōxpátōmaiksauaists* *they do not carry them* (in.) the forms *mátōxpátōmiau* and *mátōxpátōmiauaists* are also used. In other forms of the same paradigm we sometimes hear the endings *-aiks*, *-aists* instead of *-aiksau*, *-aistsau*. In general there is a tendency in Blackfoot to shorten the endings of long forms by dropping final sounds and syllables.

In the transitive animate conjugation the centripetal indicative forms of the third person singular have their negative counterparts formed with *-ats*, e.g. *nitoxpáak* *carries me*, *nimátōxpáakats* *does not carry me*. About the negative centripetal forms of the third person plural my information is not complete. I can say, however, that the affirmative forms ending in *-kiaú* have their negatives in *-k-aiksau*, e.g. *nitoxpáakiau* *they carry me* : *nimátōxpáakaiksau* *they do not carry me*.

The forms expressing the mutual relations of the first and the second person are given here with their negative counterparts:

*kitoxpát* *I carry you* : *kimátōxpátōxpá* *I do not carry you*.

*kitoxpátōxpuaú* *I carry you (pl.)* : *kimátōxpátōxpuaú* *I do not carry you (pl.)*.

*kitoxpátōxpina* *we (excl.) carry you* : *kimátōxpátōxpina* *we (excl.) do not carry you*. The same forms are used for *we (excl.) carry you (pl.)*, *we (excl.) do not carry you (pl.)*.

*kitoxpáaki* *you carry me* : *kimátōxpáakixpa* *you do not carry me*.

kitoxpáakixpuau *you (pl.) carry me* : kimátōxpáakixpuaua *you (pl.) do not carry me*.

kitoxpáakixpinan *you carry us (excl.)* : kimátōxpáakixpinana *you do not carry us (excl.)*. The same forms are used for *you (pl.) carry us (excl.)*, *you (pl.) do not carry us (excl.)*.

Another negative element is *s a u - (s a i -)*, which in the indicative is used only after certain modifying prefixes, but which is the regular negative sign of the simple conjunctive, the subjunctive, and the non-suppositional as well as the desiderative potentialis. Examples:

kimáuksauḡkàipaskḡks? *why do you not go and dance?*

itsáuatstunnoyiàuaiks *then they were not afraid of them (an.) any more*.

otáisauòtoḡs *when she did not come*.

aisauátsinaküs *when it is seen no more*.

saisikstakinàniki *if we (excl.) do not bite*.

saiókainiki *if you do not sleep*.

aisauáuotòieniki *if I do not come*.

náḡkstaísesikstakixtopi *I would not bite*.

kíkámsausikstakixtopi *were it possible that you might not bite*.

The final forms, with conjunctive- or indicative-endings, characterized by the prefix *a ḡ k(s) -*, use the negative sign *-stai- (-stau-)*. Examples:

áḡkstaísesámoyi *let it not be a long time*.

áḡkstaiaiaipua *may it be that he does not see?*

áḡkstaíminakátḡs *that we (incl.) should not roll (our gambling-wheel) eastward*.

máḡk(it)staisikstakisáie *that he may not bite*.

káḡk(it)staisikstakisuaii *that you (pl.) may not bite*.

The first person plural of the imperative, when characterized by the prefix *a ḡ k(s) -*, uses the negative sign *-stai- (-stau-)*, just as the other final forms of this type, but when it has the adhortative prefix *a ḡ k u n -*, its negative is formed by means of *-sau- (-sai-)*, e.g. áḡkunsaisikstakiòp *let us (incl.) not bite*.

In the second and third person singular and plural of the imperative the negative is formed by prefixation of the prohibitive element *pin- or min-* (some persons say *niñ-*):

pináminakatòk annái itsuanai *do (pl.) not roll that gambling-wheel eastward*.

annám ksikunistauam pinápanàs *that that white buffalo-calf may have no blood on it*.

minstúnnit ápsists, minstúnnos noḡkétsitapikoän *do not be afraid of arrows, do not be afraid of a man belonging to another tribe*.

miniókat (piniókat) *do not sleep*.

Under certain circumstances, especially when functioning as nouns, indicative-forms make use of the negative prefix *kat- (katai-*

k a t a u -), which is also used to form the negative conjugation of the suppositional potentialis (irrealis), e.g.:

omá katáukemiua *the not-married man.*

kikátaikimmoka *he who does not pity you.*

kikátaukitskatâxpists *those (in.) that you did not vomit up.*

nikátaiskštakixtopi *if I should not bite him.*

As I have said already, Blackfoot possesses also an interrogative conjugation, which is confined, however, to the indicative. This mood, when used interrogatively, may take the prefix *kat-* (*katái-*, *katau-*), mentioned above in a negative function, and the endings of the negative conjugation, though these endings in themselves, without any interrogative element prefixed to the verb, will suffice to make it interrogative. Sometimes even the intonation alone characterizes the verb as interrogative. I have still to add, that in dependent questions there is no place for the interrogative prefix, but in such cases the verb takes the pronominal dependent-interrogative ending *-χ t a u*, or one of its variants (see § 51).

Examples of interrogative *kat-*:

kátuaniuats? *is he used to tell?*

kikátainokixpa? *did you see me?*

kikátaitsâpikixpa matâpi? *did you see any person?*

It will be useful to give the interrogative paradigm of *to bite*, intransitive; transitive with singular and plural animate patiens of the third person; transitive with singular and plural inanimate patiens of the third person; opposite to the corresponding negative forms of the same verb:

#### Interrogative.

#### Negative.

#### Intransitive.

##### Sing.

1	nikátaiaisikstakixpa	nimátaiskstakixpa
2	kikátaiaisikstakixpa	kimátaiskstakixpa
3	kátaiaisikstakiuats	mátaiskstakiuats
4	kátaiaisikstakiuatsinai	mátaiskstakiuatsinai

##### Plur.

1 excl.	nikátaiaisikstakixpinana	nimátaiskstakixpinana
1 incl.	kátaiaisikstakiopa	mátaiskstakiopa
2	kikátaiaisikstakixpuaua	kimátaiskstakixpuaua
3	kátaiaisikstakjuaiksau	mátaiskstakjuaiksau

#### Transitive animate.

##### Sing.

1	nikátaiaisiksipauats	nimátaiksipauats
2	kikátaiaisiksipauats	kimátaiksipauats
3	kátaiaisiksipauats(aie)	mátaiksipauats(aie)
4	kátaiaisiksipauatsinai	mátaiksipauatsinai

## Transitive animate.

## Plur.

1 excl.	nikátaiaisiksipananats	nimátaisiksipananats
1 incl.	kátaiaisiksipauats	mátaisiksipauats
2	kikátaiaisiksipauuats	kimátaisiksipauuats
3	kátaiaisiksipiuaiksau(aie)	mátaisiksipiuaiksau(aie)

## Transitive an. plur.

## Sing.

1	nikátaiaisiksipauaiksau	nimátaisiksipauaiksau
2	kikátaiaisiksipauaiksau	kimátaisiksipauaiksau
3	kátaiaisiksipiuaiks	mátaisiksipiuaiks
4	kátaiaisiksipinaiaiks	mátaisiksipinaiaiks

## Plur.

1 excl.	nikátaiaisiksipanaiaiksau	nimátaisiksipanaiaiksau
1 incl.	kátaiaisiksipauaiksau	mátaisiksipauaiksau
2	kikátaiaisiksipauuaiksau	kimátaisiksipauuaiksau
3	kátaiaisiksipiuaiksauaiks	mátaisiksipiuaiksauaiks

## Transitive inanimate.

## Sing.

1	nikátaiaisikstsixpats	nimátaisikstsixpats
2	kikátaiaisikstsixpats	kimátaisikstsixpats
3	kátaiaisikstsim(ats)(aie)	mátaisikstsim(ats)(aie)
4	kátaiaisikstsimatsinai	mátaisikstsimatsinai

## Plur.

1 excl.	nikátaiaisikstsixpinanats	nimátaisikstsixpinanats
1 incl.	kátaiaisikstsixpats	mátaisikstsixpats
2	kikátaiaisikstsixpuuats	kimátaisikstsixpuuats
3	kátaiaisikstsimaiksau(aie)	mátaisikstsimaiksau(aie)

## Transitive in. plur.

## Sing.

1	nikátaiaisikstsixpaistsau	nimátaisikstsixpaistsau
2	kikátaiaisikstsixpaistsau	kimátaisikstsixpaistsau
3	kátaiaisikstsimaiatsau	mátaisikstsimaiatsau

## Plur.

1 excl.	nikátaiaisikstsixpinanaistsau	nimátaisikstsixpinanaistsau
1 incl.	kátaiaisikstsixpaistsau	mátaisikstsixpaistsau
2	kikátaiaisikstsixpuuaistsau	kimátaisikstsixpuuaistsau
3	kátaiaisikstsimaiksauaists	mátaisikstsimaiksauaists

Some speakers do not observe the strict parallelism between the interrogative and the negative conjugation. E.g., instead of the mutually parallel forms *kátaiaisikstsimaistsau* *does he bite them* (in.) and *mátaiaisikstsimaistsau* *he does not bite them* (in.) some people prefer, respectively, *kátaiaisikstsimaists* and *mátaiaisikstsimaists*.

In the interrogative and negative paradigms printed opposite to each other I have always given the forms containing the durative-iterative prefix *a i-*. It goes without saying that the forms without that prefix are just as usual.

Now I shall give some examples of the treatment of the verb in questions introduced by interrogative pronouns and particles (cf. § 47, § 48, § 121):

*taká nitsinoáua?* *whom did I see?*

*taɣká kitápasammaua?* *whom are you looking after?*

*áɣsa kimoɣtápoɣp(a)?* *what did you travel for?*

*áɣsa kitánistoɣpuaua?* *what are you (pl.) talking about?*

*áɣsa kitómoɣtsauaipú(y)ixpa?* *what is the reason that you never talk?*

*tsá kanistápapauáuaɣkaxpa?* *what are you walking about for?*

*tsánistaua* (*tsá ánistaua*) *kiksista?* *what is your mother called?*

*táa kitáiaɣsimmaua?* *which (án.) do you like best?*

*tamá ákanixstainixkataua einiu?* *which will be called buffalo?*

*tsimá asópátsis kitsitáupixpa?* *which seat were you sitting on?*

*tsistseá ataksáksists kitákotsixpa?* *which boxes will you take? (mark the absence of the plural-sign in the verb!).*

*tsimá kitsitoko(y)ixpa?* *where is your home?*

*tsimá kitsitoɣkématoɣp(a)?* *where did I get you for a wife?*

*tsimá kitsitsinitàua?* *where did you kill her?*

*tsimá kitsitosinaistsàua?* *where did you pick them (in.)?*

*tsimá ittsiua ksáɣkui?* *where does (that) earth belong?*

*tská ixtóats?* *which way has he gone?*

*tsá kanistsinimàɣp(a)?* *how did you catch (him)?*

*tsaa ákanistoɣkototoàuaiksaua?* *how shall we (incl.) be able to get them (an.)?*

In many cases, however, the verb in such questions does not take the interrogative endings, and also the interrogative verbs derived from *tsáá* *which, what kind* (see § 48) may, or may not, take the interrogative endings.

An interesting verb is *-iki-*, with infix *-á-* appearing as *kaii-* (from *ik-á-i-*), e.g. *kitaikíxpa, kitsikíxpa* *what is the matter with you?* *where are you going to? what do you want?*; *nimátsikíxp(a)* *there is nothing the matter with me, I do not want anything*; *matsikiua, anñóɣk ksiskaniäutuniixk nitákoɣkuini* *there is nothing the matter (to prevent) that I shall die now in the morning*; *nimátoɣtsikíxpa ninauyists* *I do not care for man's lodges*; *kaiiua* (*kaiiua-tsiks*) *what is the matter with him?* *what does he want?*; *kaiópa moyists* *what is the matter with the lodges?*; *kaióp* *what do we (incl.) want?*

The verbal forms of the second person, singular and plural, containing the prefix *mauk-* (*mau-*) *why*, usually, though not always, have a peculiar ending, *-sks* or *-χks*, attached to them (the other persons do not share this peculiarity). Examples of such second-person's forms:

*kimāukaskχsāipisks?* *why do you always come in?*

*kimauksāuoytauisks?* *why do not you eat [from (these things)]?*

*kimāukitspiaistamiskōkixpuāiisks ākssis?* *why do you (pl.) give me then to eat (meat) with round fat (fat of the guts)?*

*kimaukstamitāutsipuyisks anniksi osākiks?* *why do you just stand by those pieces of back-fat?*

*kimaukātōχkiskataisks natsēks?* *why do you have my leggings for pillow?*

*kimauksiniōkaχks?* *why do you sleep so long?*

*kimāuksauχkaipuskaχks?* *why do not you go and dance?*

*kimaukstāmitokyāuapimaχks?* *what is the reason you are making one shelter after another?*

*kimāumaisamitapinakuyisks* (the text has *-kuyiks*, which must be wrong)? *why were you seen about during such a long time?*

*kimāumaisoχkanisks?* *why do you say (that) aloud (very loud)?*

Cf. on the other hand:

*nimauksauanists?* *why did not I do it thus?*

*māukaiksisistāpanistsiuāie?* *why does he tell him something false?*

*māukaniu?* *why did he say?*

A case of the second person without *-sks* or *-χks*:

*kimāuksēsāps* (*kimāuksaisāps*)? *why did you look out?*

We have no reason to assume a special dubitative conjugation, though there is in Blackfoot a dubitative verbal prefix *ikām-*, with the compounds *aks-ikām-* and *χks-ikām-*, for the forms characterized by this prefix do not take any other endings than those of the special moods they belong to. The prefix *ikām-*, which as an essential element is met with in the desiderative potentialis (irrealis) (see § 87), means properly *quickly*, and is often used in this primary sense. Forms with *ikām-* have their negatives with *-sau-* (*-sai-*) inserted between *ikām-* and the verbal root (or the durative element *ai-*, preceding the root). It may be useful to give here a few examples of *ikām-* as a dubitative prefix:

*ikamāχsitakisāie, kāksikamitotānik* *if he is eventually pleased, he will eventually go and tell you.*

*ikamipixtsii* *if they eventually are far away.*

*ki ikāmitakiāsi omi pokūn* *and if he eventually hits the ball.*

*kamōχkitstsixki* (*ikamōχkitstsixki*), *kinoχtāksipaskāχpi* *there might eventually be some one that you might dance for.*

*kamitatsāpsis* (*ikamitatsāpsis*) *if she eventually was foolish.*

*kāmipākskyāi* (*nikāmipākskyāi*) *I eventually ought to hit (you) on the face.*

*nāksikamoχkoāimau* *I shall eventually have use of him.*

áχsikamsksinimaie *eventually she will know it.*  
 áχsikamatsinii *some more may eventually die yet.*  
 áχsikamàipiau *there may be about ten of them (an.).*

## § 82. General remarks on the special moods.

Blackfoot possesses five special moods characterized partly by differences in general type, partly by distinct personal endings, partly also by the presence or absence of personal prefixes. Morphological details will be given in the respective paragraphs devoted to each of them.

The special moods are the following:

10. The indicative, i.e. the mood of emotionally unrepressed straightforward communication. When compounded with certain prefixes, expressing doubt or other repressive emotions, true indicative-forms may to a certain degree participate of the character of repressional moods.

20. The imperative, i.e. the mood of unrepressed command or desire, though, especially in the second person, the harshness of its purport is often mitigated by means of a prefix.

30. The conjunctive, a mood of more or less repressed communication. The kind of repression in each special utterance is expressed by the presence or absence of certain qualifying prefixes.

40. The subjunctive (suppositional), a mood of strongly repressed communication, which may, or may not, have a generalizing purport.

50. The potentialis (irrealis), a mood of still more intensely repressed communication. Different shades of this very strong repression are expressed by different prefixes, or by the absence of any modal prefix.

## § 83. Indicative.

The indicative is not characterized by any stem-forming suffix, and so it is to be recognized morphologically only by its personal prefixes and conjugational endings. As I have given above (§ 71 and § 81) full paradigms of the indicative intransitive, transitive with singular and plural animate patiens of the third person, transitive with singular and plural inanimate patiens of the third person, affirmative, negative, and interrogative, the only thing that remains to be done in this place is to illustrate by a few examples from the texts the semantic value of the indicative as the mood of straightforward communication:

omák ákauyták kiniks, kapséks, otókskséiks mátaχkimist áuatsiuaie *the ancient people of long ago used to eat roseberries, hard-seed-berries, bark, black alcali.*

mátsiks nistóá nitáilikoputostuyimi nimátsitoχkanqkàtsi *I was thirteen years old, then I became a member of another society, (viz. that) of the Braves.*

omá ninau omi piskan itsókau *a man slept by a buffalo-corral.*

omíksi ú'siks áumoiiskapàtsiu *he pulled his elder brothers together.*

omá akéua itaχkyápasainikyáyayiu *that woman then ran home crying.*



itáinikiopi ksiskaniáutunii nisótamepuau nisitói áitoto ixtáiksistsikùmiop  
*Friday in the morning I got up at five o'clock.*

### § 84. Imperative.

The imperative is not distinguished by any special modal characteristic. Morphologically to the indicative-system belongs the inclusive first person plural, which is stamped as an imperative by the prefixation of *aχk(s)-*, *aχkun-*, or *ak-*, *akun-* (*kun-*). The forms of the third person singular and plural, on the contrary, are loans from the conjunctive, characterized as imperatives by the prefix *ánni-anist(s)-*, though also indicative-forms of the third person may occasionally function as imperatives, if they have an adhortative prefix, *ánni-aχk-anist(s)-*, attached to them. Even without any prefix conjunctive-forms of the third person sometimes function as imperatives. A true imperative is the second person singular in *-t* of the intransitive and the transitive-inanimate verb, and the corresponding form in *-s* of the transitive-animate conjugation. The transitive-animate second person singular with the patiens *me* does not have the ending *-s*, but shows *-t* as the intransitive and transitive-inanimate verb. In the intransitive as well as in the two transitive conjugations the suffix of the second person plural of the imperative is *-k*, which is also confined to this mood.

The prefixes of the negative imperative (the prohibitive) have been treated in the course of § 81.

It will be desirable to give paradigms of the imperative, positive (imperative proper) and negative (prohibitive). I shall again take the verb *to bite*.

#### Positive.

#### Negative.

#### Intransitive.

##### Sing.

2 sikstakit

pinsikstakit

3 ánni-anistsikstakis

pinsikstakis

##### Plur.

1 incl. áχkunsikstakiöp

áχkunsaisikstakiöp

2 sikstakik

pinsikstakik

3 ánni-anistsikstakisau

pinsikstakisau

#### Transitive animate.

##### Sing.

2 siksipís

pinsiksipís

3 ánni-anistsiksipaχs

pinsiksipaχs

##### Plur.

1 incl. áχkunsiksipau

áχkunsaisiksipau

2 siksipók

pinsiksipók

3 ánni-anistsiksipaχsau

pinsiksipaχsau

## Transitive an. plur.

Sing.

2	siksipisau	pinsiksipisau
3	ánni-anistsiksipaɣsaiks	pinsiksipaɣsaiks

Plur.

1 incl.	áɣkunsiksipaiau	áɣkunsaisiksipaiau
2	siksipókau	pinsiksipokau
3	ánni-anistsiksipaɣsauaiks	pinsiksipaɣsauaiks

## Transitive inanimate.

Sing.

2	sikstsít	pinsikstsít
3	ánni-anistsikstsís(aie)	pinsikstsís(aie)

Plur.

1 incl.	áɣkunsikstsíxp	áɣkunsaisikstsíxp
2	sikstsík	pinsikstsík
3	ánni-anistsikstsísau(aie)	pinsikstsísau(aie)

## Transitive in. plur.

Sing.

2	sikstsítau	pinsikstsítau
3	ánni-anistsikstsísais(i)	ánni-anistsaisikstsísais(i)

Plur.

1 incl.	áɣkunsikstsíxpiu	áɣkunsaisikstsíxpiu
2	sikstsíkau	pinsikstsíkau
3	ánni-anistsikstsísauaists(i)	ánni-anistsaisikstsísauaists(i)

To the transitive animate forms are to be added the centripetal imperatives *siksipokit* *bite* (sing.) *me*, *siksipokík* *bite* (plur.) *me*, *siksipokinán* *bite* (sing. plur.) *us*, and their negatives *pinsiksipokit*, *pinsiksipokík*, *pinsiksipokinán*. By the side of *siksipokit*, *siksipokík* we often heard forms with the principal or secondary stress on *o*: *siksipókit*, *siksipókík*.

Some intransitive and transitive inanimate verbs have the second person singular of the imperative in *-íst* instead of *-ít*, e.g. *sáksíst* *go out* (*místapsáksíst* *go away out of the lodge*), *istsúiatapiksíst* *throw it in (to the fire)*. The morphological character of such forms has not become quite clear to me.

Examples of the use of the inclusive first person plural of the imperative, with one of the prefixes *aɣk(s)-*, *aɣkun-*, *ak-*, or *akun-* (*kun-*):

*áɣksikamàuopi* *let us (incl.) walk fast.*

*áɣkúnâɣpókaykaiop* *let us (incl.) go home together.*

axkúnaxkitapáuop ninna *let us (incl.) go to my father.*

ákötsisöp *let us (incl.) have a smoke.*

akúnitapáuop (kunitapáuop) *let us (incl.) go there.*

kunatskáuopi *let us (incl.) go back again.*

kúnaxkaiòp *let us (incl.) go home.*

Notice the *i* at the end of áxksikamáuopi, kunatskáuopi.

Often a command is mitigated by means of prefixation of *no x k (s) -*, which in such cases may be rendered by *please* or *I pray you*:

no x kó x kókit ixtáxpumáuopi *give me money, please.*

no x kánno x katsatsisáu *now you must take care of them (an.), please.*

no x kátsimät *give an invitation, please.*

no x ksisokik *give (pl.) me to eat, please.*

no x ksikimmokit *pity me, I pray you.*

no x kó x tokit *hear me, I pray you.*

no x sikiakiätskókit *make me a trap, please.*

With a different nuance of meaning:

kanáitsitapiua, namó x kitäisaiëpitsit, namó x kitäipuyit, kitáksisamainoki *all Indians, (you may) be just telling lies, (you may) be just talking, you will see me a long time.*

I shall close this paragraph by giving some examples of the third person, properly belonging to the conjunctive-system:

imakétokuyito x kônimäsau notokâni, póto x sauaie *if they find only one hair of my head, let them bring it.*

ánna x k tsistapáistseksinasko x s *from that one more snakes will come in the future.*

tsistapapaumaxkokatâiskoxsi *from (that one) there will be more gophers about in the future.*

## § 85. Conjunctive.

By the terms conjunctive and subjunctive I distinguish two dependent repressional moods, the first of which is used in a temporal, a causal, a suppositional, and a final sense, and represents also dependent sentences beginning with the conjunction *that*, whereas the subjunctive is only a mood of the suppositional *if*, the temporal-suppositional *if* or *when*, and the generalizing *whenever*. But the subjunctive will be treated in the next paragraph. For the present we have to confine ourselves to the description of the conjunctive.

The conjunctive, then, is characterized by a suffix *-s (i)* or *-x s (i)*, and by its personal endings. From the simple conjunctive a special conjunctivus finalis is formed by means of the prefix *ax k (s) -* or *ax kit (s) -*, which, however, may also be attached to the indicative, giving it the semantic value of a final conjunctive. The same *ax k (s) -* or *ax kit (s) -* is often prefixed to the verbal nouns in *-a ni* (which belong to stems in *-a*, and also in some other cases may function as conjugational forms, see

below), transforming them into a third specially characterized final conjunctive.

I have to mention yet the future of the conjunctive, which is formed, just as the future of the indicative, by means of the prefix *a k(s)-* (cf. § 92), but uses a different set of personal prefixes, viz. the same series of prefixes, which is found in combination with *a χ k(s)-* (cf. § 94).

Before discussing the transitive animate and the transitive inanimate conjunctive I shall give the intransitive conjunctive of the verbs *to enter*, *to sleep*, and *to come*, opposite to the corresponding indicative-forms:

Indicative.	Conjunctive.
Sing.	
1 <i>nitáipi, nitsítsipi</i>	<i>nitáipis(i), nitsípís(i)</i>
2 <i>kitáipi, kitsítsipi</i>	<i>kitáipis(i), kitsípís(i)</i>
3 <i>áipim, itsipim</i>	<i>(ot)áipís(i), otsípís(i)</i>
4 <i>áipiminai, itsipiminai</i>	<i>(ot)áipisaie, otsípisaie</i>
Plur.	
1 excl. <i>nitáipixpinan, nitsítsipixpinan</i>	<i>nitáipisinan, nitsípísinan</i>
1 incl. <i>áipiop, itsipiop</i>	<i>áipios(i), itsípíos(i)</i>
2 <i>kitáipixpuau, kitsítsipixpuau</i>	<i>kitáipisuaii, kitsípísuuii</i>
3 <i>áipimiau, itsipimiau</i>	<i>(ot)áipisau, otsípísau</i>
Sing.	
1 <i>nitáiòk, nitsítsòk</i>	<i>nitáioka(χ)s(i)</i>
2 <i>kitáiòk, kitsítsòk</i>	<i>kitáioka(χ)s(i)</i>
3 <i>áiokau, itsòkau</i>	<i>(ot)áioka(χ)s(i)</i>
4 <i>áiokaiinai, itsòkaiinai</i>	<i>(ot)áioka(χ)saie</i>
Plur.	
1 excl. <i>nitáiòkaxpinan, nitsítsòkaxpinan</i>	<i>nitáioka(χ)sinan</i>
1 incl. <i>áiokaup, itsòkaup</i>	<i>áiokausi</i>
2 <i>kitáiòkaxpuau, kitsítsòkaxpuau</i>	<i>kitáioka(χ)suaii</i>
3 <i>áiokaiau, itsòkaiau</i>	<i>(ot)áioka(χ)sau</i>
Sing.	
1 <i>nitsitòto.</i>	<i>nitòto(χ)s(i)</i>
2 <i>kitsitòto</i>	<i>kitòto(χ)s(i)</i>
3 <i>itòto</i>	<i>otòto(χ)s(i)</i>
4 <i>itòtoinai</i>	<i>otòto(χ)saie</i>
Plur.	
1 excl. <i>nitsitòtoxpinan</i>	<i>nitòto(χ)sinan</i>
1 incl. <i>itotáuop</i>	<i>-otáuosi</i>
2 <i>kitsitòtoxpuau</i>	<i>kitòto(χ)suaii</i>
3 <i>itotóiau</i>	<i>otòto(χ)sau</i>

As to the personal endings, the transitive conjunctive with an inanimate patiens of the singular does not, in general, differ from the intransitive, and the corresponding forms with an inanimate patiens of the plural have the same, though in certain cases slightly modified, endings with the pluralizing suffix *-au* attached to them. Examples of the inanimate transitive final conjunctive:

*nāχk(it)sikstsis* *that I may bite it* : *nāχk(it)sikstsisau* *that I may bite them (in.)*.

*nāχk(it)sikstsisinan* *that we (excl.) may bite it* : *nāχk(it)sikstsisinaniau* *that we (excl.) may bite them (in.)*.

*kāχk(it)sikstsisuaii* *that you (pl.) may bite it* : *kāχk(it)sikstsisuaiaiu* *that you (pl.) may bite them (in.)*.

*māχk(it)sikstsisau(aie)* *that they may bite it* : *māχk(it)sikstsisauaiaiu* *that they may bite them (in.)*.

It must, however, be noticed that in the inclusive forms with an inanimate patiens of the singular or the plural the vowel *o*, which is found in the corresponding intransitive forms, is missing, so that, as contradistinguished from *āχk(it)sikstakiosi* *that we (incl.) may bite*, the transitive inanimate forms are *āχk(it)sikstsis* (with a patiens of the singular) and *āχk(it)sikstsisau* (with a patiens of the plural). The *o* is missing also in the transitive animate forms *āχk(it)siksipay̆si* *that we (incl.) may bite him* and *āχk(it)siksipay̆saiks* *that we (incl.) may bite them (an.)*. But the endings of the transitive animate will be treated afterwards (§ 98), when the contrast of centrifugal and centripetal forms in the conjunctive is to be discussed.

We have seen in § 73 that there are also conjunctive-forms belonging to the indefinite passive, e.g.: *einiu potomóys* *that the buffalo were turned loose for him* (*potomóys* is grammatically a singular); *otáiskunakaisi* *when he was shot at*; *aitsinay̆si otsinaim otokānists* *when their chief was held by his hair*; *sokāpiitay̆saie* *that it (a buffalo-calf) may be skinned well*; *āχksuyisksānoiās* *that he wants curly arrows to be made for him*; *nitákāu āχksinitay̆s* *that my partner is killed*; *ay̆kūsimmay̆s* *that he may be had as a son-in-law*; *āχkatoy̆koixtsimay̆sau* *that they will be praised (again)*.

As I have said before, while discussing the general moods (§ 81), the negative of the simple conjunctive is formed by means of the prefix *sa u-* (*sa i-*). When the verbal form has a personal or a modal prefix, or both of them, the negative prefix is inserted after those other prefixes. The final conjunctive characterized by *aχk(s)-* or *aχkit(s)-*, and its future formed by means of the prefix *ak(s)-* (*n-ak-*, *k-ak-*, *m-ak-*), makes use of *-stai-* (*-stau-*) in the negative conjugation. The place of this other negative prefix is, of course, after *aχk(s)-* or *aχkit(s)-*, or the sign of the future *ak(s)-*. It will suffice to give a negative paradigm of the intransitive final conjunctive opposite to its affirmative counterpart. Here as elsewhere the verb *to bite* will serve our turn.

## Affirmative.

## Negative.

## Sing.

1	náχk(it)sikstakisi	náχk(it)staisikstakisi
2	káχk(it)sikstakisi	káχk(it)staisikstakisi
3	máχk(it)sikstakisi	máχk(it)staisikstakisi
4	máχk(it)sikstakisaie	máχk(it)staisikstakisaie

## Plur.

1 excl.	náχk(it)sikstakisinin	náχk(it)staisikstakisinin
1 incl.	áχk(it)sikstakiosi	áχk(it)staisikstakiosi
2	káχk(it)sikstakisuaii	káχk(it)staisikstakisuaii
3	máχk(it)sikstakisau	máχk(it)staisikstakisau

The reader will be aware that the negative forms of the intransitive conjunctive have no other endings than the affirmative. In the same way the animate and inanimate transitive conjunctives have the same endings in the affirmative and negative conjugation.

Examples of the temporal conjunctive:

nitáutaχkaiis, nitsítsamau omá ixtáiksistsikumiöp *when I came home, I looked at the clock.*

otáisauatsinoaxsaiks *when he did not see them (an.) any more.*

aiksistápaukoxtás *when she had done getting her wood.*

ki manistsapsau, sotáminoyiau kanáitapi stáχtsik *and when they looked, then they saw all the people under the water.*

otáipisau, itanistsiuais *when they entered, he said to them.*

kitsino, kitsitsipis omí moyís *I saw you, when you went into that lodge.*

itsinóyiu otoχkéman, otsitáixtsis *he saw his wife, while she was lying there.*

akaiim matápiua nánoyuaie, otsistaisi ki otoχkónoaxsaie omiksi námaiks *many people saw him, while he dived and found those guns.*

aisistsíkos, itauáiskapiua otsists ki otóksiks *when she was tired, then she crawled on her hands and on her knees.*

aisáuatsinaküs kitáksksini, ákitsitömiu *when your scar is not seen any more, then she will marry (you).*

aisauátoχpotás, nitsítautoau nináma *when it does not snow any more, then I take my gun.*

püχtsis einíua, Aiixkimmikui itáitsitau; saiēpixtsis, Katoyísiks itáitsitau *when the buffalo were far, then we (incl.) overtook them in the Cypress hills; when they were not far, then we (incl.) overtook them in the Small Sweetgrass hills.*

nitáiksistsoyisinin *when we (excl.) had done eating.*

nitáiksistspummoys *when I had done helping him.*

otáiksistaistamatsisaiks *when he had done advising them.*

sauumáipuausi kanáitapiu *before all the people got up (while all the people had not yet got up).*

minists sauumáitsisi *before the berries are ripe (when the berries are not yet ripe).*

sauumáisokàpsapsisau *before they can see well (while they cannot see yet well).*

Examples of the causal conjunctive:

Katálimiks ixtsinixkataiau apatóχtsik, otsimepitsau *Not-laughers were they called long ago, because they were laughers.*

onitokoauaists otáinakóχkitsimasi *because their lodges had small doors.*

Móχkámiks, otoksinásauaie ki otsitskanauaie, ixtáitapaukunàiau *because they were mean and fighting, the Pelicans camped alone (otsitskanauaie is properly a nominal form belonging to itskàni fight, cf. below).*

àkaxsitakiua, otoχkótàs ki otoχkáuotànìs *he will be glad, because he got horses and because he got a shield.*

itsáitapiu, otàmatóχsi istsi *then he became ill, because he smelt fire.*

ixtsinixkataiau paytsiksistsikùmìks, otskúnatàpsau ki mamìks otáinaχsau *they were called false-thunders, because they were strong and because they caught fishes.*

àpekaiiks kàtautsinaiau annóχkotsóatoχsau Nàpi otsinóksists *that is why the skunks are fat nowadays, that they ate the Old Man's choice pieces.*

Examples of the suppositional conjunctive (cf. § 86):

imakétokuyitoχkònimàsau notokàni, pótoχsauaie *if they find only one hair of my head, let them bring it.*

istsinis omà áioχtoχkoχsiua *if the sick person died.*

saiitáistapòsi *if he does not go away.*

ákis anni kitúksksini, áiitsinixkàs, nitákitsitòm *if your scar heals, when it is all gone, I shall marry (you) (ákis is to be considered as suppositional, áiitsinixkàs rather as temporal).*

amóχk pokáuayk saykumapiuàsis, anistsisau, initaχsauaie, akékoänàsisaiè, máksitaχsauaie *if this child is a boy, say to them that they kill him, if it is a girl, that they wrap her up.*

isoχtsik omì otoχkéman mátsàpsis, matakstuyisiuats, ákstamìnitsiuaie; saiinitasaiè, amánnisi, omì otóχkéman kamosin manikàpi, uyinnaiks otáksinikinai *if, in the future, his wife was foolish, he would not be ashamed, he would kill her then; if she was not killed (by her husband), if he was right (in saying), that his wife was stealing a young man, she would be killed by her male relatives.*

ikamáχsitakisaiè, káksikamitotànìk *if he is eventually pleased, he will eventually go and tell you.*

ikamipixtsisi eini, ástamanixkataji matsoàpsitsaykinaiks, máχkitauaki-màniau *if the buffalo were eventually far away, then the fine-looking young-married men were called on, that they should hunt the buffalo.*

Examples of conjunctives equivalent to different kinds of our subordinate clauses beginning with the conjunction *that*:

itámsoksinim, amói ómáχkaiâyké otsikokótayx *then they (grammatically a singular) suddenly saw, that this big water was frozen over.*

amói āḡkéyi áutamsóksinim, omí tátsikāḡtsim otsitáspixtsis *then he would suddenly see, that this water rose high there in the middle.*

itóḡtoyuaie, otāḡkumsaie *then he heard him, that he made a noise.*

omá Maistópana áisksinoyiu Okoáisai, otstāwāps *Crow-arrow knew Belly-fat, that he was fortunate.*

matāpi onānaiitasksinokoaiau, otsitskāpitsau *then they were finally known by the people, that they were habitual fighters.*

ánnoḡk ómaḡksimiks áisakiauaniau, aita páuosi Ómaḡkspatsikui *now the old people still say, that we (incl.) go to the Big Sandhills.*

ikúkapiu, kinnūniks otsaiixkoks *it is very bad, that our (incl.) fathers did not get skins for robes for us (incl.).*

pinanistsis, annóm nitsitáupisinan *do not tell her, that we (excl.) are staying here.*

anistsis nitsitapimiks ki nistamóa, ixtsiskāys *tell my, kinsmen and my brother-in-law, that he must make a sweat-lodge.*

anistsisau, initaḡsauaie *tell them, that they must kill him.*

anistsis kinnā, aimó piskáni mistótsis *tell your father, that he must harden this corral.*

kitákāua amátatsistotós, póḡsapoḡs' *try to persuade your partner, that he comes here.*

áiekākimau, otsúmmaḡs oḡkói *he tried hard to rub his son (that he rubbed his son).*

The reader will be aware that in the last six quotations from our texts the simple conjunctive has a final sense. Now I shall give examples of the final conjunctive with the prefix aḡk(s) - or aḡkit(s) - :

nitāuanikiāu, naḡkótakōaḡsau *they told me, that I must give them a drink.*

kitānist, kāḡksamāḡsaua *I told you, that you should take care of them (an.).*

kimātauanistoḡp, kāḡkotsis *I did not tell you, that you should take it.*

nitānistau, māḡkauakātsis *I told him, that he should keep watch.*

māukaniu kinnun, aḡkstāminakāḡtaḡs amói itsiwanai? *why did our (incl.) father say, that we (incl.) should not roll that gambling-wheel eastward.*

nisótamst, aḡkspumāuos *I think just now, that we (incl.) should go on high.*

nimátstāḡp, nitákāu aḡksínitāḡs *I do not think, that my partner is killed.*

stáiniki, kāḡkstauḡkōtoḡsi, kimátakōḡkōtoḡp *if I think, that I shall not give you any, I shall not give you any.*

nimátōḡkstāḡpa, māḡksāms *I do not think, that he will be gone hunting.*

itāpaskāmiāiks, matāpi māḡkitapoḡtoōḡs *they then were watching about, that there would be some people coming.*

kitōḡkot, kāḡkaisokināks *I give you (power), that you may doctor.*

ámom ninauyis, kāḡkitsipisi *this one here is a man's-lodge, that you may go in there.*

māḡaḡsiua, kāḡkainoāḡs *it is not good, that you should see him.*



kokúnun matsipúmapiu, ázkauakomètsis *our (incl.) lodge is not (so) good, that we (incl.) should love it.*

nítsitsipi, naykitsoyis *then I went in, that I might eat.*

nimoxtoto, kōzkōa nāzkitsitōms *therefore I have come that I might marry your son.*

Examples of the prefix a *zk* (s) - or a *zk it* (s) - attached to indicative-forms:

ānnik kokúyik nayksók, nitsitāzkanāinixp *manistsixp when I sleep during the night (properly: that I may sleep then in the night), then I see all how it lies.*

pōysapok, kitozkémauaiks kaykitsáipiauāii *come here (pl.), that you (pl.) take your wives out.*

māzkaukoxtsok ūsi *it must have been given to him by his son-in-law.*

kāzkotayzkōspuāiixk (you, pl., are wanted) *that you (pl.) may stretch your (pl.) hands out (in this case the indicative-form has the relative ending -ixk attached to it).*

āzkstaiāpiua (*may it be*) *that he does not see.*

āzkstaisámoyi, āzkitāpistōtsixpi amóistsi ixkōtsipists moyists *let it not be a long time, that we (incl.) fix these lodges which are given to us (incl.).*

Examples of the prefix a *zk* (s) - or a *zk it* (s) - attached to properly nominal forms in -a n i, belonging to verb-stems in -a:

kitānist, kāzkstatakāatskāni *I told you, that you should never have a partner any more.*

nitānistau, māzkstatakāatskāni *I told him, that he should never get a partner any more.*

āskzsastaiinai, māzkāzkúitskāni *he was always thinking, that he might have a fight.*

itokākixtsimaiaū, māzksipuskāniaū *then they decided, that they would have a dance.*

matsikiua, saāztsim māzkitsokāniaū *it does not matter, that they should sleep outside.*

Examples of the future of the conjunctive:

atámikstsiniixtsit noxtókisi, máksinikisi *then you (must) bite the end of my ear, when she is going to kill us.*

stsiikisi āioxtōzkozsiiks máksinisāu, kokúsi máksinisau, ākstamapināku, natōsiua apispapiskapis, maiāi ainoāsi, ākitokakiū *when some sick people are going to die, if they are going to die in the night, if the next morning, when the sun rises high, he sees his robe, then he will have his right mind.*

āksōkās omā matāpiu, akitsisaisaksīu *when a person is going to sleep, then he will go out.*

ākozkēmisaū, mātauaitakiuaiks *when they were to marry, they never asked for a wife.*

mátastaxpa, nákitapōzsi kōkōai *I do not like, that I shall go to your home (i.e.: I do not like to go to your home).*

itáxsitakiu, nákoxpoksimayxi then she consented, that I should remain with her together.

itókisimau, mákstaiinitayxi then he was forbidden by all, that he should not be killed (i.e.: then all wanted him not to be killed).

akékoànàsisai; (anistsisau) máksitayxauaie if it is a girl, (tell them) that they wrap her up.

The series *n - a k -*, *k - a k -*, *m - a k -*, which is characteristic of the future of the conjunctive occurs also in forms with indicative-endings, e.g.:  
éi, éi, anni nákoškoànists oh, oh, let me do it that way.

The same series occurs in combination with verbal nouns in *- a n i*, which then function as a third characterized future of the final conjunctive:  
kénnimai; (ki ánnimai;) ixkunápiu, mákokàni and then everything is getting ready, that they may build the medicine-lodge.

annóyk kōmaa nánistsiksimistatsáu, annōma Páxtomayksikimīi mákitokekani now I made think your husband, that he should camp on St. Mary's lake.

I have still to observe that nouns in *- a n i* also without *a k (s) -* or *a k (s) -* may function as conjunctives. We have met already with *otsitskanauaie* because they were fighting. Here belongs also:

ki amōi kanāitapiua támāykanaisksinim, ómoytsipàskāni A'pekoýkūmini-māi and then all these people knew, that she danced for Round-cut-scabby-robe.

In some other cases there remains some doubt, whether such forms are to be considered as dependent (subordinate) verbal forms or not. Further investigations may throw more light on the verbal use of the forms in *- a n i*.

## § 86. Subjunctive.

The subjunctive, a mood of the purely suppositional *if*, the temporal-suppositional *if* or *when*, and the generalizing *whenever*, which borrows most times, though by no means always, the forms with a third (respectively, fourth) person as subject, or as agens, from the conjunctive, is in its own peculiar forms characterized by a modal suffix *- k i*, nearly always preceded by other elements different among themselves according to the person and the number. In contradistinction to the conjunctive, the subjunctive has no personal prefixes, which causes that some forms have more than one function. As to the compound prefix of the future of the subjunctive see below.

As we have seen in § 73, there are also subjunctive-forms of the indefinite passive, such as *iskunátayki* if he was shot at, *sapistótoayk* if he was satisfied.

The negative of the subjunctive, as I have stated in § 81, is formed by prefixation of *s a u -* (*s a i -*). When the subjunctive-forms have the dubitative prefix *i k a m -*, which very often happens, then the negative sign is placed after *i k a m -*. Side by side are given here the affirmative and negative forms of the intransitive subjunctive of the verb *to bite*.

	A f f i r m a t i v e	N e g a t i v e.
Sing.		
1	sikstakièniki	saisikstakièniki
2	sikstakièniki	saisikstakièniki
3	sikstakisi (sikstakièniki)	saisikstakisi (saisikstakièniki)
4	sikstakisaie	saisikstakisaie
Plur.		
1 excl.	sikstakinàniki	saisikstakinàniki
1 incl.	sikstakioki	saisikstakioki
2	sikstakienoàiniki	saisikstakienoàiniki
3	sikstakisau	saisikstakisau

In the subjunctive we may observe a very close relationship between the intransitive and the two transitive conjugations. Cf. the transitive animate series *siksipàiniki*, *siksipanàniki*, *siksipaɣki*, *siksipainoàiniki*, and the transitive inanimate forms *sikstsiminiki*, *sikstsiminàniki*, *sikstsiiki*, *sikstsimenoàiniki* with the intransitive paradigm *sikstakièniki*, *sikstakinàniki*, *sikstakioki*, *sikstakienoàiniki*. The patiens of the third person in both transitive groups is pluralized by means of the suffix *-au*. More forms of the subjunctive will be cited in § 99, when the contrast of centrifugality and centripetality in this mood will be discussed.

I have still to mention that the subjunctive has a future, which has the compound prefix *m-a k (s)-* in all the persons, e.g. *mākautsiminiki* *if I shall swim*, *if you will swim*, *if he will swim*.

Examples of the purely suppositional subjunctive:

*aisautotieniki*, *kitskànetamiks atámanistsisau*, *naɣkitápsamókiau* *if I do not come, tell then your pets, that they must look about for me.*

*saièkoɣpatsainiki*, *nistóa kóɣpatsàiniki*, *nitsémani*, *nimátaikamos manikâpi* *if you do not knock it down, if I knock it down, I am right (that) I do not steal a young man.*

*saiókainiki*, *apinákwis ákaykaiòp* *if you do not sleep, we (incl.) shall go home to-morrow.*

*annóɣk*, *kokyéniki ákè*, *kitákitsikim* *now, if you give me a woman, then I shall pity you.*

*òɣtoáiniki annáɣk kipitákeuayk*, *áinixkatsiníki*, *auánistsis* *if you hear that old woman, if she calls me, tell her then.*

*ikamiókainiki*, *kitákoksistotòko* *if you eventually sleep, you will be treated badly.*

*ákitautotsòtsp*, *mistsísasòkii* *we (incl.) then shall be burnt, if we (incl.) turn into wood.*

*ákainitsp*, *auákasiuasòki* *we (incl.) shall be killed, if we (incl.) turn into antelope.*

Examples of temporal subjunctives, referring to the future:

*áininiki*, *noɣkitsuièpotòkit áɣké* *if I die (when I die), you must put me into the water.*

annóʒk matsipáskàuki, autsitskixpièniki, nitákaisekakiäpiks *now when we (incl.) dance again, when I dance by (you), I shall kick up.*

aitótoèniki amó isoóʒtsi, spátsikuyi istataniòtsit *when you arrive at the shore, then you must dig the sand.*

Examples of the generalizing subjunctive:

sipyápoʒkitòpauki, mataskétsiau ponokâmitaiks *if (whenever) we (incl.) are riding around in the night, they scare the horses too.*

ki aipókakiniki, táistamoʒto ponokâmitoyis *and when (whenever) I wake up, then I go to the stable.*

ánnyaie kitákauànistsixpuau, iskétsokuinoàiniki *in that way you (pl.) will do, when (whenever) you (pl.) are scared.*

ki áksoioiki, nitsítautaki ókapaìini *and when we (incl.) go to eat, then I take flour.*

aikšistápotakinaniki, nitsitaikoänixpinan *when we (excl.) have done working, then we play.*

ikámstsimimotsiniki omi akékoän otoʒkéman, nitúyi ákatanistsatapiks-istsuaie *if eventually that girl, his wife, dislikes him, he will throw her out (of his lodge) just the same.*

#### §87. Potentialis (irrealis).

There is in Blackfoot still another repressional mood, derived from the indicative by means of the suffix *-opi* (*-topi*), which without any modal prefix is used to express a supposition, nearly always an irreal one, and may therefore be called "irrealis", but which with *aʒk-stai-* (*aʒk-stau-*) prefixed to it has its place in the principal sentence and then may be indicated as "non-suppositional potentialis", whereas the dubitative prefix *ikam-* transforms it into a desiderative. This desiderative potentialis is but a specialization of the irrealis, i.e. of the mood of the irreal supposition.

The most remarkable of the three varieties of the *-opi*-mood is the non-suppositional potentialis characterized by the prefix *aʒk-stai-* (*aʒk-stau-*), which is equivalent to English constructions of the type *would — if*. But *aʒk-* in *aʒk-stai-* is the well-known final prefix, and *-stai-*, as we have seen in § 81, means *not*, e.g. *nāʒkstaisikstakisi* *that I may not bite*. How is it possible then, that the potentialis with *aʒk-stai-* *that — not* is a practically affirmative repressional mood? It is very easy to answer this question. The proper meaning of, e.g., *nāʒkstaisikstakixtopi* is (*how is it possible*) *that I would not bite*, which is a rhetorical way of expressing the idea *I would bite*.

The negative of the suppositional irrealis without any modal prefix is formed by prefixation of *katai-* (*katau-*), but the prefixes *aʒk-stai-* (*aʒk-stau-*) and *ikam-* in the negative conjugation require the insertion of *-sau-* (*-sai-*) immediately after themselves.


A few affirmative forms of the three varieties of the potentialis with their negative counterparts will make clear what has been said above:

nitsikstakixtopi *if I might bite* : nikátaisikstakixtopi *if I might not bite*;  
nitsiksipauopi *if I might bite him* : nikátaisiksipauopi *if I might not bite him*;  
nitsikstsixtopi *if I might bite it* : nikátaisikstsixtopi *if I might not bite it*.

náɣkstaisikstakixtopi *I would bite* : náɣkstaisausikstakixtopi *I would not bite*;  
náɣkstaisiksipauopi *I would bite him* : náɣkstaisausiksipauopi *I would not bite him*;  
náɣkstaisikstsixtopi *I would bite it* : náɣkstaisausikstsixtopi *I would not bite it*.

nikámsikstakixtopi *if I might but bite (oh, how I should wish to bite)* :  
nikámsausikstakixtopi *if I might but not bite (oh, how I should wish not to bite)*;  
nikámsiksipauopi *if I might but bite him (oh, how I should wish to bite him)* :  
nikámsausiksipauopi *if I might but not bite him (oh, how I should wish not to bite him)*;  
nikámsikstsixtopi *if I might but bite it (oh, how I should wish to bite it)* :  
nikámsausikstsixtopi *if I might but not bite it (oh, how I should wish not to bite it)*.

As the three varieties of the *-opi*-mood have the same personal endings, and as the formation of their negative counterparts clearly appears from the examples given above, it will suffice to give the affirmative paradigm of the non-suppositional potentialis of the principal sentence of the verb *to bite*: intransitive; transitive with singular and plural animate patiens of the third person; transitive with singular and plural inanimate patiens of the third person. More forms of the *-opi*-mood will be found in § 100, where the contrast of centrifugal and centripetal forms will be discussed.

	Intransitive	Transitive an.	Transitive in.
Sing.			
1	náɣkstaisikstakixtopi	náɣkstaisiksipauopi	náɣkstaisikstsixtopi
2	káɣkstaisikstakixtopi	káɣkstaisiksipauopi	káɣkstaisikstsixtopi
3	áɣkstaisikstakiuopi	áɣkstaisiksipiuopi (aie)	áɣkstaisikstsimopi (aie)
4	áɣkstaisikstakiuopinai	áɣkstaisiksipiuopinai	áɣkstaisikstsimopinai
Plur.			
1 excl.	náɣkstaisikstakixpinanopi	náɣkstaisiksipananopi	náɣkstaisikstsixpinanopi
1 incl.	áɣkstaisikstakiotopi	áɣkstaisiksipauopi	áɣkstaisikstsixtopi
2	káɣkstaisikstakixpuâuopi	káɣkstaisiksipauâuopi	káɣkstaisikstsixpuâuopi
3	áɣkstaisikstakiuopiau	áɣkstaisiksipiuopiau (aie)	áɣkstaisikstsimopiau (aie)
	Transitive an. plur.	Transitive in. plur.	
Sing.			
1	náɣkstaisiksipauopiau	náɣkstaisikstsixtopiau	
2	káɣkstaisiksipauopiau	káɣkstaisikstsixtopiau	
3	áɣkstaisiksipiuopiaiks	áɣkstaisikstsimopiaists	
4	áɣkstaisiksipiuoppinaiks	áɣkstaisikstsimopinaists	

3



## Transitive an. plur.

## Transitive in. plur.

Plur.

1 excl. náǵkstaisiksipananopiau

náǵkstaisikstsixpinanopiaists

1 incl. áǵkstaisiksipauopiau

áǵkstaisikstsixtopiaists

2 káǵkstaisiksipauàuopiau

káǵkstaisikstsixpuàuopiau

3 áǵkstaisiksipiùopiauiks

áǵkstaisikstsìmopiauaists

Now I shall give some examples of the use of the three varieties of the potentialis (irrealis) in principal and subordinate clauses:

ámiuopi amóm mistsísama annáǵk nitsistsipoxtokayka. annyaie náǵkstanistotoauopi *if this tree were the one who has run away with my wife, I would treat him in that way.*

annáǵk kitsinikixkàspuauopi, ánnyaie káǵkstanistotoxpuauopi *if you (pl.) would show fight, I would treat you in that way.*

náǵkstaumatoytopi, nitáysitsixtopi *I would go (have gone), if I liked it (had liked it).*

náǵkstaumaykyaupixtopi, saiótauopi *I would stay (have stayed) at home, if it rained (had rained).*

náǵkstaumatoytopi, kátaisotauopi *I would go (have gone), if it did not rain (had not rained).*

nistóá náǵkstaumótsauopi, nitsikaytaumauopi *I myself would have conquered him, if I had been in the gambling.*

nikámoǵkoyixtopi *if I might but eat (how I should wish to eat).*

nikámsimixtopi *if I might but drink (how I should like to drink).*

nikámoǵkotsisixtopi *if I had but a smoke (how I should like to have a smoke).*

nikámoǵkèmixtopi *if I might but marry (be married) (how I should wish to be married).*

nikamákotsapstopi *if I might but be rich (how I should like to be rich).*

nikaminánatoxtopi *if I might but own it (how I should like to own it) (of an inanimate thing, e.g. a lodge).*

nikaminánatauopi *if I might but own him (how I should like to own him) (of anything animate, e.g. a horse, a knife, an axe).*

kikámaykaiixtopi *were it but possible that you came home (but it is not).*

kikámauatoxtopi *were it but possible that you might eat it (but it is not).*

ikámaykaiiuopi *were it but possible that he came home (but it is not).*

## § 88. Modal prefixes.

There are no more moods in Blackfoot than those treated in the preceding pages, at least if we will confine this term to modal groups of forms characterized by peculiar endings. In this paragraph I shall give an alphabetical list of modal prefixes which go a long way to complete the modal system of this language. The reader will be aware that most of them have found a place already in different other parts of the grammar.

a k (s) -, as adhortative prefix, e.g.: *ākōtsisōp let us (incl.) have a smoke*. Cf. § 84 and for a k (s) - in general § 92.

a k s - i k a m - eventually, e.g.: *kāksikamitotānik he will eventually go and tell you, nāksikamoḡkoāimau I shall eventually have use of him*. Cf. § 81 and § 92.

a k - u n - (k - u n -), a k - i t - u n -, adhortative prefixes, e.g. *akūnitā-pāuop (kūnitapāuop) let us (incl.) go there, kūnaxkaiōp let us (incl.) go home, nitākitunniūātau (nitākitunniōātau) I will eat her*. Cf. § 84.

a ḡ k (s) -, a modal prefix indicating potentiality in its widest sense (especially used to express finality), e.g.: *ōmiaie kinnuna aḡkauānistsiu there is the one our (incl.) father will tell about, āḡkoḡtsitokopskai (the text has, erroneously, āḡkoḡtsitokopstai) that she might make soup with them (in.), māḡkaukoḡtsok ūsi it must have been given to him by his son-in-law, āḡkstaiaiaḡpia (may it be) that he does not see, kitākanik kāḡkitapoxpi she will tell you where you can go, naḡkōtakōāḡsau that I must give them a drink, aḡkspumāuos that we (incl.) should go on high, kāḡkotsis that you should take it, kāḡkitsipisi that you may go in there, ki āḡksauokskaii nitāuaiakiaḡpists and I hit him just about three times, āḡkaistokāmi nitō-mixkāniks I catch about two (fishes)*. Cf. § 85 and § 87.

a ḡ k - a n i s t (s) -, an adhortative prefix, see § 84.

a ḡ k s - i k a m - eventually, e.g.: *āḡksikamsksinimaie eventually she will know it, āḡksikamatsinii some more may eventually die yet, āḡksikamāipiau there may be about ten of them (an.)*. Cf. § 81.

a ḡ k - u n -, a ḡ k - i t - u n - adhortative prefixes, e.g.: *ōmixk aḡkūnoḡ-tāpauāuaḡkau (aḡkūnaḡtāpauāuaḡkau let us (incl.) travel that way, aḡkūn-istapāuop let us (incl.) go away, kisinuna aḡkūnauotōi our (incl.) son-in-law might come, aḡkūnauaipokakiu he might wake up, aḡkūnauaiḡuōyi he might go far, āḡkitunitaḡsop that we (incl.) may have the scalp-dance, āḡkitunotoaii let us (incl.) take them (an.), aḡkitūnnioyi that they might eat*.

a n i s t - according to, see m a n i s t -.

a n i s t a p - according to, see m a n i s t a p -.

a s k a k (s) - expresses consent and ability, e.g.: *āsākaniu he consents (says consenting), mātaskaksoā she did not consent to go in (to the water), mātaskāksipuaus she would not get up, mātaskaksapiksisāua (the buffalo-herd) would not run in, mātaskaksauatom he did not consent to eat them (in.), mātaskākspummoyuaiksaie they did not want (consent) to help him, mātaskakatsistotoyuaus she could not persuade her, mātaskaksipokakiuats he could not wake up*.

i k a m - eventually, perhaps (properly: quickly, fast, see § 117), e.g.: *ikamāḡsitakisāie if he is eventually pleased, ikamḡpixtsii if they eventually are far away, kamōḡkitstsixki (ikamōḡkitstsixki) there might eventually be some one, (i) kamitaḡpatōmis if she eventually had a side-husband, (ni) kāmipākskyai I eventually ought to hit (you) on the face, nikāmāḡkaiixtopi were it possible that I came home*. Cf. § 81 (at the end) and § 87.

*kat-* (*kat-*) *therefore, that is why*, e.g.: *kátaisàmiàua that is why they wear the war-bonnet*, *katsauáuiàua iksisakui that is why they do not eat meat*, *ki autoiàtsis kátoxtautoanisòyi and that is why they use the forked stick as a cane*, *kátaisàikimii that is why they are short-furred*, *kátautsinaiaua annòyk that is why they are fat nowadays*, *kátaistúnnoyiuaiks that is why they were afraid of them (an.)*, *kátainixkiaua that is why they sing*, *kátainokinakimiaiks that is why they are long-legged*, *kátautstsitsimii that is why they are yellow*, *kátainiopa that is why we (incl.) die*, *nikátauanixpinan that is why we (excl.) say*.

*-kot-* (*-kots-*) expresses that one is able to do something. In the forms without any personal or other modifying prefix it is preceded by the syllable *ix-*, which cannot be a sign of the third person, since it also occurs in the inclusive form of the first person plural. Initial *ix-* interchanges with postconsonantic *-oʒ-*, e.g. *ixkotoxkimaui he can wait* : *nítoxkotoxkima I can wait* (the same syllable *ix-*, interchanging with *-oʒ-*, is also found in other cases. cf. § 4). Examples: *ixkótautsim he can swim*, *nítoxkótsòk I can sleep*, *mátatoxkótskitsipimats. (the buffalo-herd) could not go back in again*, *kimátotoxkótsinikixpuaua you (pl.) cannot kill me*, *mátotoxkótsàxpauaniuatiks he could not jump out (of the water)*.

*ma k(s)-* *about, going to*, e.g.: *mákautsiminiki if I shall swim, if you will swim, if he will swim*. Cf. § 86.

*manist-* (*manists-*), *-anist-*, (*-anists-*), *anist-* (*anists-*) *according to*, e.g.: *maniststokimixp according to that the water was so cold*; *manistsikaxkápitakixpiaui according to how they cut (the horses) loose*; *manistsinómàtapoʒs, támanistsippiautomò as (the war-party) had started down, then he was accordingly far ahead*; *manistótaspinan, ánni nanistáitaskimaypinan as we (excl.) owned horses (separately), so we (excl.) drove them accordingly*; *ki ánniyaie nanistsksinoau, nanistáuytsimatáu and that is according to what I know about (the ancient people), what I heard about them (grammatically a singular)*; *káxkanistsitapiixpi according to how you can live*; *katánistáiaxsp áké there was no such fine-looking woman (no fine-looking woman according to that)*; *pinanistsiksismistát do not think thus (according to that)*; *ánni-anistoxkimayxau let them wait*; *anistáxkiápiksatós according to when he butted (that tree)*; *anistóau according to when he was shot*; *anistáinauspi according to how he dressed*. Cf. § 46, § 68, § 84.

*manistap-*, *-anistap-*, *anistap-* *according to*, e.g.: *manistápomayksipiaui according as they were big*, *manistápiikauatapiksixpiaie as (according to that) he shook them (in.) harder*, *manistápakanàpixpi according to where they were hidden from view*, *tsáa kanistápapauànixpa according to what are you talking? (what are you talking about?)*; *skátam-anistapinauminiaks then they were according to, that their wings were growing long*, *anistápipuyiu he stands in that way (according to that)*.

*mauk-* (*mau-*) *why*, e.g.: *máuksaietapiskoiaui why are there no people?*; *máukaniu why did he say?*; *nímauksauanists why did not I do it*



thus?; kimáuksotamauànisks *why do you say now?*; kimauksipisks *why did you come in?*; kimáukauasàinisks *why do you weep?*; kimauksiniòkayks *why do you sleep so long?*; kimáumaisoykanisks *why do you say (that) aloud (very loud)?* Cf. § 81 and § 104.

n o x k - (n o x k s -), - o x k - (- o x k s -) *to be sure, it is true, though, however, at least, somehow, please.* Its semantic value is more or less concessive and propitiating. Examples: onóxkitotuisapinàus *whom she dressed like, to be sure*; nàkoxykòkèmatatau *that I want to marry her, to be sure*; ninóxkakaii *I have them as partners, to be sure*; mâtisitoxkotakiuats *he got nothing, however*; nitoxkòkoaisimiskàn *I got belly-fat at least*; namóxkitaisaiepitsit *be just telling lies (though you may be just telling lies)*; noxkòkòkit ixtàxpumàupi *give me money, please*; noxksisokik *give (pl.) me to eat, please*; noxksikimmokit *pity me, I pray you.* Cf. § 84.

n o x k o i -, - o x k o i - *to be sure, it is true, etcét.* Concessive and propitiating. E.g.: mâtóxkoisauamíua Okinau *there is no denying, to be sure, that it is Breast-chief*; nimâtóxkoiàkoxkinàuats *I had, to be sure, no means to rein him*; nimâtatoxkoikamotsiauaiks *there was no chance any more, to be sure, that I should let them escape*; sotámatoxkoikaxtsiau *then they had, to be sure, another game*; itoxkóiistapsixtsinai (*the bird*) (4 p.) *then went up higher somehow.*

#### § 89. Aspect.

There is not so much to be said about the expression of aspect and tense as there was about the general and special moods. The prefixes *a i -* and *a u -*, the former of which is also used as an infix, have nothing to do with tense, but stamp the verbal form as durative or iterative. Nor is the prefix *i t (s) -* (before which the final *t* of the personal prefixes is assimilated to *ts*) an indicator of tense, though it is often used of the past; it means, on the contrary, *in a certain place, at a certain time, under certain circumstances.* The same prefix, though in the modified form *i s t (s) -*, is often used in the second person singular and plural of the imperative, provided it occupies the first place in the verbal complex. Also in the conjunctive and the subjunctive we find initial *i s t (s) -* instead of *i t (s) -*.

Examples of *a i -* (*a i -*), *a u -* *in the act of, in the state or condition of:*  
nàpiu itàiokau, niètaxtai itàiokau, kokúyi *there was an old man sleeping, near a river he was sleeping, in the night.*

ákai-Pekàniua áuauaykisixk *the ancient Peigan people were shaking their heads (i.e. were dancing).*

nitàinoau kòminùna, otàuanistotàxpi kokòsinùnìks *I saw (was seeing) our (incl.) husband, what he was doing to our (incl.) children.*

ksiskaniàstónii ototoàxkàni, amóia niètaxtaii àitòtò *in the morning, when he went for the horses, he was coming to this river (in àitòtò and some other examples cited below a i t - is a contraction of a i - and i t -).*

otàiaistoxkòkaie (the text has otàaistoxkòkaie) *he (4 p.) was coming near him.*

aiistsiu motúyi *spring was near.*

aiámistsipatakayayin he (4 p.) *was running east.*

aitaxkaiïau okóauai, áitsipimiauie *then they were going home to their lodge, then they were going in there.*

kaiikskátsiuaiie *he was going on one side of them.*

káietsopiu *he is sitting on high.*

saiakapóyinai he (4 p.) *was coming out from the camp.*

Examples of ai- (-ai-), au- *in the habit of, usually:*

anistsiksistsikuists áisamiixk *he used to hunt every day (literally: according to days).*

otsistamíksisiná itauáuakoàu *then we (incl.) used to chase the bulls.*

itáisapoytómiauie skinétsimàn *they used to put it in a sack.*

istsikíks okósoauaiks otáisakakimmauáiks inisaiks, otsitstsixpaiks, aitoksi-kinakisáiks *when some people's children, that they loved (used to love) very much, died, when, where they were (buried), just their bones were left (used to be left).*

aipúskasi àkéks, áuaksipuyiau *when the women danced (were dancing), they would stand (used to stand) in a circle.*

kaiistoyxinai he (4 p.) *used to stick himself.*

Sometimes ai- (-ai-), au- corresponds to our *repeatedly*. So áuaniua *may, according to circumstances, be rendered by he is saying (in the act of saying), he usually says (is in the habit of saying), he repeatedly says.* Cf. the following case:

omí áukskau ómoytaipstsámmokoaiauaie *there was a hole, through which she (4 p.) peeped in at them repeatedly.*

Examples of it(s) - *then, at a certain moment, there, in a certain place, under certain circumstances* (cf. also some of the examples of ai- cited above, viz. itáiokau, áitôtò, áitaxkaiïau, itauáuakoàu, itáisapoytómiauie, aitoksi-kinakisáiks, which contain ai- and it- at the same time):

ki ístuyiu *and then it was cold.*

itsinóyiu omiksi népumakii *then he saw, there were spring-birds.*

átòsaie, ákitanistsiuaiie *when she came back, then he would say to her.*

kokuists nimátsitainòko *in the nights, then I am not seen.*

aitotóaiie, itsáutsim omístsi atsikísts, itskóiaists *he then was coming there, he then put off those moccasins, then they (i.e. the moccasins) went back (aitotóaiie contains the contraction of ai- and it-).*

amóm ákitsipiop *we (incl.) shall go into this one.*

omí sóatsis ixtsitáisúmmoyiuaiie Páie *he there was rubbing Scar-face with an eagle-tail-feather.*

Kyáiesisaxtài nitsitáukunaii *I was camping there on Maria's river (Bear-creek).*

When it(s) - is put twice in the same verbal form, then each of the two refers to something different, e.g.:

áutamáksikoko, itsitótò otóxpokómíks *it was nearly night, then he came*

there to his companions (the first *it* - — here assimilated before *i* — refers to the night that was coming, the second *it* - to the place where his companions were).

*ki mistsiks stámakstòksipistsiau, itsitsapopiuai* and then they tied logs together, then he got in there (in the raft) (the first *it* - — assimilated to *its* - — is a temporal, the second *it* - a local reference).

There seem, however, to be cases where the repetition of *it(s)* - has only an emphatical force.

Examples of *ist(s)* -, often shortened to *st(s)* -, in the imperative, the conjunctive and the subjunctive:

*istanit then say, istanikinan then tell us.*

*istsipit then enter (or: enter there).*

*annó istáioχkokik wait (pl.) right here for me.*

*ámoi ásipis istúiatapiksist this sinew here, throw it in (to the fire).*

*ómim ipotóχtsi istsipópuyis stand (the rabbit) up there by the door.*

*ánnomaie istoχkoχták look (pl.) for wood right here.*

*stapót ómi nitúmmot you must go there to that hill.*

*aisaksíniki, istsipótos amóia imitáuai when I go out, then you must turn this dog loose.*

*istáupisi, saitáupisi (you will know) if she is there or if she is not there.*

*istsinis if he dies.*

*stókamotspozχpiis if (the ball) goes straight up in the air.*

*stotúisapináusòkiaui if they were imitated in dress by them (4 p.) (conjunctive with indicative-ending).*

*istsiksikaisapaxkumèniki omi maksini if you hit hit exactly in the same wound.*

## § 90. Completion.

A kind of perfect (when referring to the past, rather a pluperfect) is formed by means of *ak-* (*akai-*, *akau-*), *-k-* (*-kai-*, *-kau-*), or *ik-* (*ikai-*, *ikau-*), *-ik-* (*-ikai-*, *-ikau-*) *already*. Combined with *-ksist(s)-* *done, completed*, *akai-* appears as *akai-ksist(s)-*, so that then the idea of completion is expressed twice. Also without *akai-* (*-kai-*) prefixed to it, *ksist(s)-* indicates that the action or condition expressed by the verb has come to an end. With the durative or iterative prefix *ai-* it combines to *ai-ksist(s)-*. The compound prefix *akaitai-* (*-kaitai-*) indicates that the action or the condition has been completed under certain local or temporal circumstances.

Completion may occasionally be expressed by means of the prefix *sik-* *stopping* (see § 116).

Examples of *ak-*, etcet., *already*:

*akáχtuitsiu omi piskáni the corral is full already.*

*ákainim he had seen it already.*

akáiksistāxputau *it has already done snowing.*

ákaitaiksistsauyiau *they then had already done eating.*

ákatoxkoxkeminai *he (4 p.) has got another wife already.*

ákauksikinakiminai *she (4 p.) had already turned into bones.*

omiksi okósiks ákauomayksimiau *those children of his had already got big.*

nikáinitānan *we (excl.) have killed her already.*

okáipistsimók *she was already suspected by him (4 p.).*

kikáiaksisai *you have become left-handed already.*

nikáuaitskāsi *I have done fighting already (I have had enough of fighting for this time, I give up).*

nikáuto *I have come already.*

kikátoxkoxkemi *you have got another wife already.*

Initial *k-* (*kai-*, *kau-*) is rare:

kaiiksipixtsiau *they had gone already very far off.*

It stands to reason that not every form containing *ak-*, etcet., has the syntactical value of a perfect or pluperfect. So, e.g., *akai-* is often used in the imperative:

ānni ákaitaupit *be already seated there for a moment.*

ānnòm ákaitaupik *be already staying right here for a while.*

About the use of *akai-* in nominal compounds see § 26.

Examples of *ik-*, etcet., already:

ikaumatapakimin *she (4 p.) had already started to hammer it.*

íkatsiksiststom *she had also put (the cherries) near already.*

óxkotoki inákskuyi potāni ikaikanaisóoxtom *he had already put stones of small size all in the fire.*

ikanistsuiaie *he had already told him.*

māxksikaiinikoaiauaie *they may have been killed by him (4 p.) already.*

otsikanistsokināki *(the same way) as he had doctored already (before).*

āksikāxkūiniu *he might have died already.*

Of course, not all forms containing *ik-*, etcet., may be rendered by a perfect or pluperfect, cf., e.g.:

ikaitsapāuapiū *there they walked about already.*

The contraction of *ai-* with *ik-* is *aik-*, e.g.:

āikāxkanaiksistsii *they already would all be ready.*

āikaitsauapotoyiu otāpimi otāšiks *(the people) would not turn loose their male horses already.*

ónokāmitāsina āikašaiepiskoāu *all the horses were not driven far already.*

āikaistapauakāitapiu *from that moment the people were getting many already.*

āikaistapaipyāpsapina *he (4 p.) already kept looking about farther away.*

Notice that in none of these cases the rendering by a perfect or pluperfect would be possible.

Examples of *ksist(s)-* (cf. also above among the examples of *ak-*):

*áitsiksistapauyiaie* then he had done eating.

*áksistaiksistòsisop* we (incl.) shall have done smoking.

*áksistapaiksistoxsoiau* they had done warming themselves.

*támiksistsipaskau* then (the people) had done dancing.

For a negative perfect (and pluperfect) see the next paragraph, where the compounded prefixes *mat-omai-* and *sau-umai-* will find a place.

### § 91. still, yet, not yet.

Continuative prefixes to be mentioned here, after those that are used to indicate completion, are *saki-* still, *kanist-* still, and *im-(-om-, -um-)* still, yet.

Examples of *saki-* (*sak-*) still:

*sákiaupii* they still sat there.

*sákiaitapii* they were still alive.

*sákiausiu* she was still picking (berries).

*sakyáiokat* be still asleep.

*sakáixtsisi* moyists if the lodges are still there.

*kitsakiaupixpuau?* do you (pl.) still sit there?

*otsákiauyisau* whilst they were eating still.

*otsitsakaxtsixp* when there were still buffalo.

Examples of *kanist-* still:

*kánistàpiäutomò* he was still far ahead (of the others).

*kanistsippiotòmipuyiu* she was still standing far ahead.

*okánistaiokazpiäu* while they are still sleeping.

*okánistaixtsixp* it was still there.

*okánistauauaykàxpi* while he was walking still.

Examples of *im-(-om-, -um-)*, *imai-(-omai-, -umai-)*, *imau-(-omau-, -umau-)* still, yet:

*imáitskamiu* he is still fighting him.

*imáinanaitsiauaiks* they still own (those things).

*imáinixkoxyiauaie* they still sing to her.

*imáinoaiäua* they (an.) are still seen.

*ki itstsip imánistainokoxkauākimaup* and there are still some elk we (incl.) have to chase.

*imítaixtsiu* it is there yet.

*imóxytaipaskaii* they still have dances with these things.

*kátomautòatsiksi?* has he come yet?

*mátomaisamòats* it was not yet a long while.

*nimátomaiksiniipa auaykàutsisists* I do not know yet about wars.

The compounded negative prefixes *mat-omai-* (strictly confined to the indicative) and *sau-umai-* (whose domain are the repressional moods) serve to characterize what may be called a negative perfect (when referring to the past, rather a pluperfect), though the forms containing

*mat-omai-* or *sau-umai-* are by no means always to be rendered by perfects or pluperfects. In certain, comparatively rare, cases we find *mat-om-* (*mat-omau-*), *sau-um-* (*sau-umau-*).

Examples of *mat-omai-* (*mat-om-*) as sign of the negative perfect or pluperfect of the indicative:

*mâtomaipixtsiuaiks* *they had not gone far yet.*

*mâtomautôtsiks* *he has not yet come.*

*mâtomaiksistsotauats* *it has not yet stopped raining.*

Examples of *sau-umai-* as sign of the negative perfect or pluperfect of the conjunctive (and subjunctive):

*sauumâipuausi kanâitapiu* *when all the people had not yet got up (i.e. before all the people had got up).*

*sauumâitautoxsau Pinâpîsinai otâuaxsini* *when they had not yet come to the Sioux country (i.e. before they had come to the Sioux country).*

*sauumâisaskâpis* *when (the sun) has not yet risen (i.e. before the sun has risen).*

*sauumâisopuiinakus* *when it has not yet dawned (i.e. before it dawns).*

*otsauumâinisaie* *when he had not yet died (i.e. before he died).*

#### § 92: The prefix *a k(s)-*.

A verbal form may be changed into what might be called a future by means of the prefix *a k(s)-*, but by no means every form containing this prefix is to be rendered in that way. In many cases it is decidedly no sign of the future tense, but only an adverbial element with the meaning *about to*, *going to*, *nearly*, or the like. As a sign of the future we have met already with this prefix in § 85 and § 86, while treating the formation of that tense in the conjunctive and the subjunctive. Very common is the use of *a k(s)-* to express that a certain thing will or would happen repeatedly, regularly, usually (in this respect it resembles the future tense of many languages).

Examples of different ways of using the prefix *a k(s)-*:

*âksotau* *it will rain (it is going to rain).*

*nitâksâm* *I shall hunt (I am going to hunt).*

*kitâkâuatoxpînan* *we (excl.) shall eat you.*

*âkamistotsòp* *we (incl.) shall move higher up.*

*âkanistsiuaie* *he was about to tell her.*

*âksimiu* *he was about to drink.*

*âtakskunakinai* *he (4 p.) was going to shoot again.*

*nitâksipask* *I am going to dance.*

*âksikoko* *it was nearly night (it was going to be night).*

*itâkotoyiuaie* *he was nearly taking him.*

*âiaksistuyiu* *it will be cold (it is going to be cold).*

*kitaiâkoḡkot* *I shall give it to you (I am going to give it to you).*

*âkitanistsiuaie* *then he would say to her.*

ákstamasikomoauaie *then it would be broken for him.*

In the last two sentences we have to do with happenings that would recur regularly under the same circumstances.

A very common idiomatic expression for the idea *about to, going to, on the very verge of, nearly* is the combination of a u t a m - *then, now, just* with a k (s) -:

nitautamáksinisi *I was just about to fall off.*

autamákseninai he (4 p.) *was just going to die (nearly died).*

autamaksiksistsipaskāup we (incl.) *have nearly done dancing.*

autamáksakoxsoyū *it is nearly boiling over.*

Sometimes a u t a m - and a k (s) - are separated by another prefix: kitāutamsauatāksino *I nearly do not see you any more.*

autamatāksāpi(u) *it was just about to come off too.*

## CHAPTER XV.

### Verbs (continued).

#### § 93. Personal prefixes.

As the conjunct personal pronouns have been treated at large in § 30, I shall confine myself here to a brief summary of the principal facts. In the conjugation we find the same pronominal prefixes as in the possessive flexion, though with the restriction that in good Blackfoot *n o-*, *k o-* are not used as conjugational prefixes. It is also to be observed that the inclusive first person plural, otherwise than in the noun, does not have any personal prefix, and that such a prefix is also absent in most forms with a third person, singular or plural, as subject or as agens. The prefix *o-* or *ot-* (*o t o χ-*, *o t s-*) is used to indicate the fourth person in centripetal forms, but in the conjunctive it also often denotes the third person. In the final conjunctive with *a χ k(s)-* or *a χ k i t(s)-*, however, the third person has the prefix *m-*, so that here we find the whole series *n-*, *k-*, *m-*, which combines with the modal element *a χ k(s)-* or *a χ k i t(s)-* to *n-a χ k(s)-*, *k-a χ k(s)-*, *m-a χ k(s)-* or *n-a χ k i t(s)-*, *k-a χ k i t(s)-*, *m-a χ k i t(s)-*. In the "false" final conjunctive with indicative-endings the *m-* of the third person is often absent, as it regularly is before the compound prefix *a χ k-s t a i-* of the non-suppositional potentialis (irrealis) of the principal sentence (there are, however, one or two centripetal forms of this mood, where it is present). The series *n-*, *k-*, *m-* is also used in the future of the conjunctive (even in the "false" final conjunctive mentioned above), where *n-a k(s)-*, *k-a k(s)-*, *m-a k(s)-* are prefixed to the verb, though occasionally we find *a k(s)-* in the third person. It is strange enough, that in the simple subjunctive there are no personal prefixes at all, and that in the future of this mood *m-a k(s)-*, which properly would seem to belong to the third (and fourth) person only, usurps the domain of *n-a k(s)-* and *k-a k(s)-*. There are still more modal and modifying prefixes requiring *n-* and *k-* (e.g. the dubitative element *i k a m-*), but to other prefixes the conjunct pronouns *n i-*, *k i-*, *o-*, or *n i t-*, *k i t-*, *o t-* (*n i t o χ-*, *k i t o χ-*, *o t o χ-*; *n i t s-*, *k i t s-*, *o t s-*) are attached (in most cases the third person is not expressed at all by a prefix). Save before certain prefixes, alluded to above, the normal conjunct pronouns of the indicative, the simple conjunctive and the suppositional (non-desiderative) potentialis (irrealis) are those ending in *t* (and their variants in *t o χ*, *t s*). This series is also found in the future of the indicative, so that *n i t-a k(s)-*, *k i t-a k(s)-* as indicative-combinations are opposed to *n-a k(s)-*, *k-a k(s)-* of the future of the conjunctive. A very



frequent phenomenon in the first person is the loss of the initial syllable *ni-*. I have still to add, that the imperative has no personal prefixes, a peculiarity which it shares with the simple subjunctive.

#### § 94. Personal endings and pluralizers.

With regard to the conjugational endings we distinguish in Blackfoot the following groups of verbs:

##### I. Intransitive.

1. With 3 p. sing. ind. in *-u(a)* (§ 105).
2. With 3 p. sing. ind. without characteristic ending (§ 106).
3. With 3 pers. sing. ind. in *-m* (§ 107).

##### II. Transitive animate.

1. With 1 pers. sing. in *-au*, 3 p. sing. in *-iu* (§ 108).
2. With 1 pers. sing. in *-tau*, 3 p. sing. in *-tsiu* (§ 109).

##### III. Transitive inanimate.

1. With 1 pers. sing. in *-ixp* (*-ip*) or *-tsixp* (*-tsip*), 3 pers. sing. in *-im* or *-tsim* (§ 110).
2. With 1 pers. sing. in *-toxp* (*-top*), 3 p. sing. in *-tom* (§ 111).

The predicative adjectives, treated in § 27, do not form a special class of intransitive verbs, at least in so far as the conjugational endings are concerned. They partly belong to I, 1, partly to I, 2, partly to I, 3. For the details, especially of the distinction between animate and inanimate, it will suffice to refer to the paragraph mentioned above.

There might be said a good deal about the personal endings the reader has already become acquainted with, and also about the various devices by means of which, as the reader will already be aware, the plurality of the intransitive subject, the agents, the patiens, are expressed in the verb, but it would take us too long to give a thorough analysis of all the form-types concerned. Still I will draw the attention to a few obvious facts. It is quite clear, e.g., that in the intransitive verb *-u(a)* is a sign of the third person singular indicative, and later on we shall see that *-m* has the same function, though with the difference that it is exclusively animate and recurs in the 3 p. plur., where the plurality is indicated by the suffix *-ia u*. Parallel to such intransitive forms of the 3 p. sing. in *-m* and the 3 p. plur. in *-m-ia u* are the transitive inanimate forms of the 3 p. sing. and plur. That the exclusively animate *-m* is found in transitive inanimate forms is nothing remarkable, since it refers to the animate agents of such verbs, not to the inanimate patiens. The suffix *-u(a)*, mentioned above, is also used for the agents of the third person singular indicative in the transitive animate conjugation. Pluralizers of the third person are *-au* and *-ia u* (about *-ii* by the side of *-ia u* see § 104), which are indifferent to

gender, and *-(a)iks*, *-aiksau*, animate, *-aists*, *-aistsau*, inanimate. An easily recognizable pluralizer of the first person (exclusive) is *-nan(a)*, whereas in the second person we find *-oau(a)* (*-uaua*, *-uau*), *-oaii* (*-uaii*) as sign of the plural. Cf. the possessive suffixes *-nan(a)* and *-pau(a)* in the nominal flexion (§ 22).

An interesting phenomenon is the identity of the intransitive first person plural inclusive with the indefinite passive third person singular in *-op*. There occur, however, also forms of the intransitive 1 p. plur. incl. of a different type. As these latter are not exemplified in the paradigms, it will be useful to cite some of them:

*otánikaie* : *okí, ákomatau* *she was told by him* (4 p.) : *come on, we* (incl.) *shall go away*.

*piixsis einiua, Aiiixkimmikuyiu itáitsitau* *when the buffalo were far, we* (incl.) *overtook them in the Cypress hills*.

*áksinisâu* *we* (incl.) *shall go down*.

*napí, ómixk áxkunaxtápauàuaɣkau* (= *áxkunoxtápauàuaɣkau*) *ómim ómaɣsikimi* *partner, let us* (incl.) *travel that way to that lake*.

*annóɣk-ksistsikúixk ákataiaið* *we* (incl.) *shall make the circle in approaching the camp*.

Not less interesting than the identity stated above, and certainly related to it, is the identity of the transitive animate first person plural inclusive with the indefinite passive animate third person singular in *-au*, and of the transitive inanimate first person plural inclusive with the indefinite passive inanimate third person singular in *-ɣp* (*-xp*).

How is the form in *-ots* (for the usual *-otsp*) of the 1 p. plur. incl. of the indefinite passive to be explained? I know of only one case:

*ákoɣtoɣkusksinòts* *we* (incl.) *shall be known by means of (him)*.

In the imperative most forms have *-t* as sign of the second person singular, *-k* as sign of the second person plural, but the second person singular transitive animate with a patient of the third person has the ending *-s*.

The contrast between centrifugal and centripetal endings will be treated in § 95—§ 100.

## § 95. General remarks on centrifugality and centripetality.

Now I have to call the reader's attention to the important distinction of centrifugal and centripetal forms, a distinction which is also met with, e.g., in Ojibway, but which, however, in none of the Algonquian languages is so clearly discernible as in Blackfoot. I call centrifugal those transitive animate forms which represent the action as withdrawing from the first person's self, centripetal, on the other hand, those whereby the action is represented as approaching the first person's self. To the intuitive sub-conscious feeling of the Algonquian peoples, the other persons are at different distances from the centre, the Ego, so that the second person is

nearer to the Ego than the third person, whereas the fourth and the fifth persons are still more removed. Forms with the first person as agens and any other person as patiens, and those where the action is ascribed to the second person with respect to the third or fourth or fifth, or to the third with respect to the fourth or fifth, and to the fourth person with respect to the fifth person, are centrifugal, whereas those forms which express an action of any other person with respect to the first, or of the third or fourth or fifth person with respect to the second, or of the fourth or fifth person with respect to the third, or of the fifth person with respect to the fourth person, are centripetal. In Blackfoot there is no centrifugal suffix, but all centripetal expressions are characterized as such one way or other, in most cases, however, by means of a suffix *-k* (*-ki*), which is identical with the centripetal suffix of Ojibway and other Algonquian dialects. Though there cannot be the slightest doubt as to the passive character of the centripetal forms (cf. § 71), for convenience' sake I shall render them in the next-following paragraphs by active constructions (as I regularly do with other transitive forms, animate and inanimate, which are also to be considered as really passive). I shall give a number of centripetal forms opposite to their centrifugal counterparts, on which in some cases they are etymologically based.

§ 96. Centrifugality and centripetality in the indicative.

All the centripetal forms of the indicative contain the suffix *-k* (*-ki*):  
*kitsiksipoki you bite me* : *kitsiksip* (from *kitsiksipo*) *I bite you*.

*nitsiksipok he bites me* : *nitsiksipau I bite him*.

*kitsiksipokixpuau you (pl.) bite me* : *kitsiksipoꝑuau I bite you (pl.)*.

*nitsiksipokiau they bite me* : *nitsiksipáiau I bite them*.

*kitsiksipokixpinau you (sing. and pl.) bite us* : *kitsiksipoꝑpinau we bite you (sing. and pl.)*.

*nitsiksipokinan he bites us (excl.)* : *nitsiksipanan we (excl.) bite him*.

*siksipokiu he bites us (incl.)* : *siksipau we (incl.) bite him*.

*nitsiksipòkinaniau they bite us (excl.)* : *nitsiksipanianau we (excl.) bite them*.

*siksipokiau they bite us (incl.)* : *siksipáiau we (incl.) bite them*.

*kitsiksipok he bites you* : *kitsiksipau you bite him*.

*kitsiksipokiau they bite you* : *kitsiksipáiau you bite them*.

*kitsiksipokoau he bites you (pl.)* : *kitsiksipauau you (pl.) bite him*.

*kitsiksipokoaiu they bite you (pl.)* : *kitsiksipauaiu you (pl.) bite them*.

*otsiksipok fourth person bites third person* : *siksipiu(aie) third person bites fourth person* : *siksipinai fourth person bites fifth person*.

*otsiksipokaiks fourth persons bite third person* : *siksipíuauiks third person bites fourth persons*.

*otsiksipokoaiu fourth person (persons) bites (bite) third persons* : *siksipiau(aie) third persons bite fourth person* : *siksipíuauaiks third persons bite fourth persons*.

§ 97. Centrifugality and centripetality in the imperative.

The centripetal forms of the second person with respect to the first person (which are the only true centripetal imperatives) are characterized as such by the suffix *-ki*:

siksipokít bite (sing.) me.

siksipokík bite (pl.) me.

siksipokínan bite (sing. pl.) us.

§ 98. Centrifugality and centripetality in the conjunctive.

I shall give only the centripetal and centrifugal forms of the final conjunctive with *aχk(it)-*, as the reader will be able to substitute the compound prefixes *n-aχk(it)-*, *k-aχk(it)-*, *m-aχk(it)-* by *nit-*, *kit-*, *ot-*, or, where it is required, to omit *aχk(it)-* without any substitution, and so to construct the simple conjunctive (we must bear in mind that before certain prefixes *ni-*, *ki-*, *o-* instead of *nit-*, *kit-*, *ot-* are required, and that the third person's prefix may be entirely dispensed with). It will also be easy enough to substitute the final series by *n-a k-*, *k-a k-*, *m-a k-*, *a k-* in order to get the future of the conjunctive.

Only a few of the centripetal forms have the suffix *-ki*:

*kāχk(it)siksipokisi* that you may bite me : *kāχk(it)siksipoχsi* that I may bite you.

*kāχk(it)siksipokisuaii* that you (pl.) may bite me : *kāχk(it)siksipoχsuaii* that I may bite you (pl.).

*kāχk(it)siksipokisinan* that you (sing. and pl.) may bite us : *kāχk(it)siksipoχsinan* that we may bite you (sing. and pl.).

*āχk(it)siksipokisi* that he may bite us (incl.) : *āχk(it)siksipaχsi* that we (incl.) may bite him.

*āχk(it)siksipokisau* that they may bite us (incl.) : *āχk(it)siksipaχsaiks* that we (incl.) may bite them.

But also where there is no characteristic *k* in the centripetal forms, the contrast of centripetal and centrifugal is clearly expressed in the conjunctive-endings:

*nāχk(it)siksipiis* that he may bite me : *nāχk(it)siksipaχsi* that I may bite him.

*nāχk(it)siksipiisaiks* that they may bite me : *nāχk(it)siksipaiiks* that I may bite them.

*nāχk(it)siksipiisinan* that he may bite us (excl.) : *nāχk(it)siksipaχsinan* that we (excl.) may bite him.

*nāχk(it)siksipiisinaniau* (-nanaiks) that they may bite us (excl.) : *nāχk(it)siksipaχsinaniau* that we (excl.) may bite them.

*kāχk(it)siksipiis* that he may bite you : *kāχk(it)siksipaχsi* that you may bite him.

*kāχk(it)siksipiisaiks* that they may bite you : *kāχk(it)siksipaiiks* that you may bite them.

kāḡk(it)siksipiisuaii *that he may bite you (pl.)* : kâḡk(it)siksipaḡsuaii *that you (pl.) may bite him.*

māḡk(it)siksipiis *that fourth person may bite third person* : māḡk(it)-siksipaḡsi *that third person may bite fourth person.*

There are, of course, some more of such pairs, but I did not succeed in securing a complete paradigm. The centrifugal forms nâḡk(it)siksipaiiks, kâḡk(it)siksipaiiks cited above belong to the "false" conjunctive, though the corresponding indicative-forms end in -aia u. The genuine conjunctive-forms for *that I may bite them, that you may bite them* would be nâḡk(it)siksipaḡsau, kâḡk(it)siksipaḡsau. Perhaps they are also used by the Peigans.

#### § 99. Centrifugality and centripetality in the subjunctive.

The only true subjunctive-forms containing the centripetal suffix -ki- are the following:

siksipokiëniki *if you bite me* : siksipoeniki *if I bite you.*

siksipokiënoäniki *if you (pl.) bite me (us)* : siksipainoäniki *if I (we) bite you (pl.).*

siksipokinäniki *if you bite us* : siksipoinäniki *if we bite you.*

The forms siksipokisi *if he bites us (incl.)* and siksipokisau *if they bite us (incl.)* are loans from the conjunctive, though their centrifugal counterparts siksipaḡki *if we (incl.) bite him*, siksipaḡkiau *if we (incl.) bite them* belong to the subjunctive-system.

All other centripetal forms of the subjunctive contain a suffix -ts-, which has the same value as the centripetal -k (cf. the interchange of -k- and -ts- in the passive conjugation):

siksipotsëniki *if he bites me (you)* : siksipäniki *if I (you) bite him.*

siksipotsinäniki *if he bites us (excl.)* : siksipanäniki *if we (excl.) bite him.*

siksipotsenoäniki *if he bites you (pl.)* : siksipainoäniki *if you (pl.) bite him.*

siksipotsënikiau *if they bite me (you)* : siksipänikiau *if I (you) bite them.*

siksipotsinänikiau *if they bite us (excl.)* : siksipanänikiau *if we (excl.) bite them.*

siksipotsenoainikiau *if they bite you (pl.)* : siksipainoänikiau *if you (pl.) bite them.*

The type siksipotsëniki is also used for *if 4 p. bites 3 p.* Examples: äḡsimotsiniki, omi ninai otäküsimmokaie *if he (4 p.) liked him (3 p.), that man (4 p.) would take him (3 p.) for son-in-law*, or rendered by a passive construction: *if he (3 p.) was liked by him (4 p.), he (3 p.) would be taken by that man (4 p.) for son-in-law.*

ikámstsimimotsiniki omi akëkoän otoḡkëman *if that girl (4 p.), his wife (4 p.), disliked him (3 p.),* or translated by a passive construction: *if he (3 p.) was disliked by that girl (4 p.); his wife (4 p.).*

§ 100. Centrifugality and centripetality in the potentialis (irrealis).

As the potentialis (irrealis) is derived from the indicative, all its centripetal forms are characterized by the suffix *-k* (*-k i*). I shall give only the forms used in the principal sentence, for then it will be easy to the reader to construct the suppositional and desiderative forms.

*kāḡkstaisiksipokixtopi* you would bite (have bitten) me : *kāḡkstaisiksipoxtopi* I would bite (have bitten) you.

*nāḡkstaisiksipokopi* he would bite (have bitten) me : *nāḡkstaisiksipauopi* I would bite (have bitten) him.

*kāḡkstaisiksipokixpuāuopi* you (pl.) would bite (have bitten) me : *kāḡkstaisiksipoxpuāuopi* I would bite (have bitten) you (pl.).

*nāḡkstaisiksipokopiau* they would bite (have bitten) me : *nāḡkstaisiksipauopiau* I would bite (have bitten) them.

*kāḡkstaisiksipokixpinanopi* you (sing. and pl.) would bite (have bitten) us : *kāḡkstaisiksipoxpinanopi* we would bite (have bitten) you (sing. and pl.).

*nāḡkstaisiksipokinanopi* he would bite (have bitten) us (excl.) : *nāḡkstaisiksipanānopi* we (excl.) would bite (have bitten) him.

*āḡkstaisiksipokiuopi* he would bite (have bitten) us (incl.) : *āḡkstaisiksipauopi* we (incl.) would bite (have bitten) him.

*nāḡkstaisiksipokinanopiau* they would bite (have bitten) us (excl.) : *nāḡkstaisiksipananiau* we (excl.) would bite (have bitten) them.

*āḡkstaisiksipokiopiau* they would bite (have bitten) us (incl.) : *āḡkstaisiksipauopiau* we (incl.) would bite (have bitten) them.

*kāḡkstaisiksipokopi* he would bite (have bitten) you : *kāḡkstaisiksipauopi* you would bite (have bitten) him.

*kāḡkstaisiksipokopiau* they would bite (have bitten) you : *kāḡkstaisiksipauopiau* you would bite (have bitten) them.

*kāḡkstaisiksipokoāuopi* he would bite (have bitten) you (pl.) : *kāḡkstaisiksipauāuopi* you (pl.) would bite (have bitten) him.

*kāḡkstaisiksipokoāuopiau* they would bite (have bitten) you (pl.) : *kāḡkstaisiksipauāuopiau* you (pl.) would bite (have bitten) them.

*māḡkstaisiksipokopi(aie)* fourth person would bite (have bitten) third person : *āḡkstaisiksipiuopi(aie)* third person would bite (have bitten) fourth person.

About two or three other forms I am not quite sure, and so I had better omit them.

§ 101. The suffix *-inai*.

We have already met with the suffix *-inai* (*-in*) as the sign of the predicative obviative in the nominal flexion (§ 19). This is, however, but a special case of its general use as characteristic ending of the fourth person singular in the verb. It does not equally occur in all moods, but it is usually confined to the indicative and the potentialis (irrealis) where it

regularly refers to a fourth person, be that person the intransitive subject, the agens, or the patiens of the verb. For -ii as a plural counterpart of the singular ending -inai see § 104.

Examples of -inai (-in) in the verb:

omí áǵké itámsokoǵtásaininai *then something suddenly cried from the water.*

itsinóyiua omim akékoāninai, áiokáiinai *he then saw, there was a girl sleeping.*

omí otánni itsitsipiminai *then her daughter came in.*

ki ánniaie itsómosinai otsisoǵkèmani *and then his youngest wife went after water.*

támsokoǵtsimiu omá akéu, amóisk áuanìn *then that woman suddenly heard, there was someone saying.*

Occasionally -inai occurs in the conjunctive: otoǵkikaiaisinai (otoǵkikaiaisinai) *that he (4 p.) barked running.*

### § 102. The suffix -aie.

The suffix -aie (-aii, -ai) plays an important part in nominal and verbal flexion. It is also often attached to pronouns to verbalize them. Though all its different functions are by no means sufficiently clear to us, we can say this much, that it often refers to a person or thing, other than a third person. So it is the sign of the subobviative in the noun (cf. § 15 and § 19), and refers to fourth, and eventually fifth, persons in the verb. In the conjunctive and subjunctive it is the regular sign of the fourth person. It is also very often attached to forms of the indicative and the potentialis (irrealis), but further researches are needed, before we can define its exact semantic value in those numerous cases. Cf., for instance:

ánistsiu omí otákài: napi, amóm otsitauàtakoyiixp, kíkátaitaiàpixpa? otánikaie: sá; ániststuaie: nistóa nitáiniixp, ómimaie moyís siksínikokaup *he said to his partner: partner, do not you see something here, where the water goes round? he was told by him (4 p.): no; he said to him: I see, there is a black buffalo-painted lodge.*

itsitápo omím maáǵsi okóai, itaniú: anná annáǵk nápiuáǵk? omí kipitáke otánik: ákaisamomatòyinai; ániststuaie: á, ákaisamomatò *he went to the lodge of his father-in-law, then he said: where is that old man? he was told by that old woman (4 p.): it is a long time that he (4 p.) started; he said to her: yes, it is a long time that he (3 p.) started.*

ki áitapoaié omí. úsi; otáisksinòdǵsaie omisk otáǵkstánisk, itaníststuaie *and then he went to his son-in-law; when he knew the one, (his son-in-law) had killed, he said to him.*

### § 103. The suffix -aki in verbal forms.

The suffix -aki is used to emphasize any part of speech it is attached to (cf. § 16). Here I shall give some examples of verbal forms provided with it:

napiaki, kíkátaiikimmoka nimátōχkaiiksikimmāuaki *my partner, who does not pity you, I do not pity him.*

napiaki, kanāitapiua nitāχkanaikimmāuaki *my partner, I pity all the people.*

noχsokūyi natoyiu, nitsisani natoyiuàki *my road is holy, my paint is holy too.*

spōχtχkaki natōsiu, amóχk ksāχkum natōsiuàki *the people on high are holy, the people of this earth are holy too.*

#### § 104. Relative and other special suffixes of the verb.

Under the influence of relative pronouns the verbal forms may assume relative endings, and even when there is no relative pronoun in the sentence, we often find an emphasizing relative ending attached to the verb (cf. § 39). The relative suffixes of this kind are  $-\chi k(a)$ ,  $-x k(a)$ , both of which are confined to the singular, and  $-(i)sk$ , equally found in singular and plural forms. As to the distribution of  $-\chi k(a)$  and  $-x k(a)$ , the reader will be aware that  $-\chi k(a)$  is found after non-palatal vowels, and  $-x k(a)$  after  $i$  and diphthongs with  $i$  as their second component.

Examples of verbal forms with such relative endings:

annāχk Pekánikoānāχk ánitsiuāχk sauúmitsitapiks *that one, who was a Peigan, that killed bad people.*

stāau amóχk (ni)tāuauaiàkiokāχk *a ghost is this one that hits me.*

āχkitsinoāu amóχk áiatōāχk *that we (incl.) may know him, this one that is howling here.*

annixk pistāχkanixk otāpaixkaxtoχpixk *the tobacco that he sold.*

annixk nitoχpúmmaixk nāpioyisk *the house that I bought.*

annixk anākimatsisk nitsinixpixk *the lamp that I saw.*

kinnūna ánniāukin ánniisk otāuanistaiisk, āχkstaiskimataχs ótskuisistsi *that one is it, that our (incl.) father told us that we should not shoot, the blue-bird.*

anniksisk ákèksk áikakiākiisk *those women that were chopping wood.*

anniksisk ponokāmitaisk áukskasaisk *those horses that are running there.*

Very common are verbal forms in  $-ixk$  (which occasionally may be followed by another suffix). Ever and again, e.g., we find forms of this type of ániu *he says* (ániixk, itániixk, mátsitániixk, ánistsiixk, itauánistsiixk, itámsokaniixk, otánikixk, etcet.). Some other examples:

Isksinaitapiks otsinaimoai ikāpsiixkin, iwātaiixkin *it was the chief of the Bug-people, that suffered from a bad illness, that was eaten (by bugs).*

omí otoχkēman itāpauyisiixki kiní *it was his wife, that was going about to pick roseberries.*

áipiskiixk ákai-Pekāniua *it was the ancient Peigans, that were having a buffalo-corral.*

miksitsinisokotāiixk *it was in spite of it, that she spat down on him.*



áisamoyixk atáksamiixk *it happened that it was after a long time, that he would go hunting again.*

áiimiixk omá akékoän, otauánistaɣsi ómi *then it was that that girl laughed, when she told it her husband.*

amóksi saɣkúmapiks ixtóɣkanaitamitakiixk omixk opápaukan *these boys it was, that all were happy because of that dream of his.*

àkéks áikaɣtsiixkiau *it was the women that gambled.*

ki itsitápoɣtaukskasiixkaie *and then it was that he ran up to (that tree).*

káɣkotaykôspuaiixk *that you may stretch your hānds out.*

A different kind of relative suffix attached to verbal forms is -pi (-ɣpi, -xpi), which properly corresponds to a relative *what*, but has to be translated in different ways according to the other elements contained in the verb. As it has been treated and exemplified in § 46, a reference to that paragraph will suffice.

I still have to draw the attention to the relativization of verbal forms of any kind by means of the suffix -i (if the verbal ending is -au, or -aua, then this combines with the relative -i to -ai or -aii). Examples: kénnaie nanístksinoaii ámoksisk kipítákeks *and that is all I know about these old women.*

ánimaie itsúitomo; nímoɣtsinoaii niuókskam stámikiks *there was a butte right close to the creek; from there it was I saw three bulls.*

aiāu, áutstsiu nímoɣtaksimmatapspināni *alas, now came that, we (excl.) were to become poor from.*

ánnixkáie ánoɣk-ksistsikúixk nímoɣtaístunnōanāni ísistsiks *that is why nowadays we (excl.) are afraid of wolverines.*

áɣsa kitáuatoɣpuai? *what do you (pl.) eat? (or, perhaps better: what is it, that you (pl.) eat?).*

áɣsa kitānistoiɣpuaua, kimoɣtáimixpuai? *what are you (pl.) talking about, that you (pl.) are laughing for?*

kakó, kitákitsammoɣpuau, kitāuanistsixpuai *go on, that I may see you (pl.), how you (pl.) do it.*

há, há, káɣkaukoɣkôksuyixpuau, kinétumoɣkáuayākixpuai *ah, ah, you (pl.) must have eaten raw food, that you (pl.) are with bloody mouths.*

Not so quite clear is a case as:

nitānistaii amóksi nisúyepixtsaiks *I told these my war-companions.*

It may be mentioned in this place, that by the side of the intransitive third-person's-forms in -iau there occur other forms in -ii, which certainly have their own syntactical sphere (cf. predicative nominal forms of the same type in § 11 and § 19). The most probable interpretation of these plurals in -ii is that they are to be considered as the plural counterparts of the singular fourth-person's-forms in -inai (cf. § 101). Examples:

ki itókiuaukskāsataua, ki omíksima saɣkúmapii áistamaikaɣtsii *and then he (the Old Man) was run after by all the people, and then there were some boys playing (arrow-sticking game).*

niuókskaitapiiks ánniksaie iskaḡkósii *there were three of them that stretched their hands back (to help to bring in the meat).*

nátsitapiiks ixpotómixtsiaii *two of them were the leaders.*

támsamii nátsitapiiks *then two of them hunted.*

ki otoḡpokómiks ixtsitoköyi amóistsi moyists *and his companions went through the camp.*

ánisaiks "Népumaki", oápsspoaiks itáisaḡpii; omíma mistsisimi, istápi-kaniksiminai, áitsitsiksikáḡpii *when they said "Spring-bird", then their eyes would fall out; there was a tree, it was a very dry tree, they would fall cleanly in it.*

otsauomitáixtsisi, itsitstsii ixkaḡkátsii nitáinixkataiáiks Stámikiks, linnakiks, ki Siṇopáiks *before he was (born), there were societies that were called the Bulls, the Catchers (the Soldiers), and the Kit-foxes.*

okóauaists pistóḡtsi kanáisokâpii *their lodges were all fine inside.*

ki otsinánoauaists nitúyi nitáysii *and their things were just as fine.*

áuaniau, amó otsistáuosin áuauákimatsiu eini; áuakasiks itssii, ki mí nists ákauóyi *they say that these ghost-people are chasing buffalo; antelopes are there and the berries are plentiful.*

Here belong the passive plurals in -a ii instead of -a i a u (cf. § 73):

áiikskoḡtòinaminai initâi(i) *it looked, very many of them were killed.*

ánnyaie ákauánistotoaii imáikimokaiks *that way will be treated the lovers of the wives of other people (this case is not quite clear).*

nòḡpsiists ásupekâii *my arrows were spilled (the context does not afford a sufficient explanation of the use of the form in -a ii).*

kitákau áinitaii otákâiks *your partner's partners are killed (here the fourth person is obvious).*

As we have seen in § 51, the verbal predicate of a dependent question often takes the ending -ḡta u (-ḡta u a, -ḡta u ts, -ḡta u tsiks). It would be superfluous to repeat here the examples cited in that paragraph.

As to the independent interrogative endings of the verb (and to the peculiar endings of the *why*-forms of the second person), a reference to § 81 will suffice.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### Verbs (continued).

§ 105. Intransitive verbs with 3 p. sing. ind. in *-u(a)*.

By far the greater part of the intransitive verbs belong to this class, which comprises *i*-stems and *a*-stems. In all likelihood also the intransitive verbs without any characteristic ending of the 3 p. sing. ind., which will be treated in § 106, are only a variety of the same class.

To the *i*-stems belong, e.g., the animate adjective-verbs in *-siu(a)* as well as their inanimate counterparts in *-iu(a)* and the inanimate adjective-verbs in *-atsiu(a)* (opposite to animate *-am*-verbs, see § 107). The reader will be aware that the ending *-iu(a)* is indifferent as to gender, and that where gender in an *-iu(a)*-verb is expressed, it is done by an element preceding the ending *-iu(a)*. As a matter of fact, most intransitive verbs in *-iu(a)* are used, without any differentiation by means of a preceding gender-index, indiscriminately of animate and inanimate beings or things.

Many, though not all, intransitive stems in *-a* lose this vowel in the first and second person singular of the affirmative indicative, and in all *a*-stems we observe the tendency to contract *a + o* into *au* in the inclusive forms of the first person plural, so that the endings are *-aup* (indicative), *-ausi* (conjunctive), *-auki* (subjunctive).

Occasionally the *i*-stems and *a*-stems (as well as the *o*- and *au*-stems, to which the next paragraph is devoted) have the 1 p. pl. incl. ind. without the final *-p*, in most cases characteristic of that form in intransitive verbs (cf. § 94).

A special peculiarity of the intransitive *si*- and *tsi*-stems has yet to be mentioned, viz. the regular loss of their *i* before *o* (cf. the contrast between *âkôtsisòp we shall have a smoke, let us have a smoke*, and *âkopakiòp we shall move, let us move*, both, of course, inclusive forms).

As I have given paradigms of the indicative of *i*-stems in § 71 and § 81, it will suffice for them to refer to those paragraphs. As paradigms of the *a*-stems I choose the indicative of the verbs *to sleep* (*nitâiòk*) and *to wait* (*nitâiòkima*).

7 Sing.

1	nitâiòk	nitâiòkima
2	kitâiòk	kitâiòkima
3	âiokau(a)	âiòkima(u)
4	âiokaiinai	âiòkimaaiinai

Plur.

1 excl. nitáio̯kazpinan(a)	nitáio̯kima̯pinan(a)
1 incl. áio̯kaup	áio̯kimaup
2 kitáio̯kazpuau(a)	kitáio̯kima̯puau(a)
3 áio̯kaiau	áio̯kimaiau

The peculiarities of the different classes of intransitive verbs are chiefly confined to the indicative (and the potentialis or irrealis based thereon). Therefore it would be of no use to give paradigms of all the moods.

§ 106. Intransitive verbs, without characteristic ending of the  
3 p. sing. ind.

To this group belong only the stems in *-o* (*-u*) and *-au*. Probably they represent but a special case of the verbs treated in § 105, as the 3 p. sing. ind. in *-o* (a), *-a u* (a) may have originated from forms in *-o -u* (a), *-a u -u* (a). After the final *-o* of the third person of stems in *-o* often a glottal stop is heard.

In contradistinction to the *a*-stems (see § 105) the stems in *-o* (*-u*) have their inclusive forms in *-a u o p* (indicative), *-a u o si* (conjunctive), *-a u o ki* (subjunctive).

I shall give as paradigms the indicative-forms of the verbs *to climb* (nitáuàmiso) and *to go down* (nitáinisau). The remark at the end of the preceding paragraph may be repeated here.

Sing.

1. nitáuàmiso <sup>a</sup>	nitáinisau
2 kitáuàmiso	kitáinisau
3 áuàmiso(a)	áinisau(a)
4 áuàmisoinei	áinisauinei (?)

Plur.

1 excl. nitáuàmiso̯pinan(a)	nitáinisau̯pinan(a)
1 incl. áuàmisauop	áinisauop
2 kitáuàmiso̯puau(a)	kitáinisau̯puau(a)
3 áuàmisoiau	áinisauiau (?)

I shall only add the imperative-forms of the second person àmisót (sing.), àmisók (pl.), and inisáut (sing.), inisáuk (pl.).

§ 107. Intransitive verbs with 3 p. sing. ind. in *-m*.

There is a group of intransitive animate verbs with the third person singular of the indicative in *-m*, and the third person plural in *-m -i a u*. The fourth person singular, being derived from the third person, has the ending *-m -i n a i*. Further the *m* is found in the first and the second person of the subjunctive, but it is altogether missing in the conjunctive

and the imperative. In the irrealis, being based on the indicative, the *m* is to be expected in the third person singular and plural (and the fourth person singular), but I have not met with such forms of any verb belonging to this type. In general, the *-m*-verbs (among which, in Blackfoot, are all kinds of vowel-stems) are conjugated in the same way as the verbs with the third person singular of the indicative in *-u(a)*.

The animate *-m*-verbs are opposite to inanimate verbs in *-atsiu(a)* (cf. § 27).

I shall give as paradigms the indicative-forms of the verbs *to enter* (nitáipi), *to swim* (nitáuts), *to be black* (nitsiksina), *to be afraid* (nitáikòp). Notice that under certain circumstances the final stem-vowel is dropped.

Sing.

1 ✓	nitáipi	nitáuts
2	kitáipi	kitáuts
3	áipim	áutsim
4	áipiminai	áutsiminai

Plur.

1 excl.	nitáipixpinan(a)	nitáutsixpinan(a) (nitáutspinan)
1 incl.	áipiop	áutsop
2	kitáipixpuau(a)	kitáutsixpuau(a) (kitáutspuau)
3	áipiau	áutsímiau

Sing.

1	nitsiksina	nitáikòp
2	kitsiksina	kitáikòp
3	siksinám	áikòpum
4	siksináminai	áikòpumínai

Plur.

1 excl.	nitsiksinaɣpinan(a)	nitáikopuɣpinan(a)
1 incl.	siksinaup	áikòpuop
2	kitsiksinaɣpuau(a)	kitáikòpuɣpuau(a)
3	siksinámiau	áikòpumiau

Imperatives: pit (pi't) (sing.), pik (pl.) *enter*; atsít (sing.), atsík (pl.) *swim*; kòput (sing.), kòpuk (pl.) *be afraid*.

#### § 108. Transitive animate verbs in *-au*, *-iu*.

As to the transitive animate verbs in general is to be mentioned that the centrifugal form with the first person singular as agens and the second person singular as patiens in most cases loses its final *o*. So for *I like you*, *I bite you*, the only forms used among the southern Peigans seem to be kitáiaɣsim, kitsíkisp, instead of kitáiaɣsimmo, kitsíkisipo (which are

preserved, however, when a suffix is attached to them, e.g. *kimátaiaɣsim-moxpa I do not like you*, *kimátsiksipoxpa I do not bite you*). But the causative-permissive verbs characterized by *-at-* always retain the final *o* (e.g. *kitsikstakiatso I make you bite*). Nor do the causative proper formed by means of *-pi-* ever lose that vowel (e.g. *kitákitapipio I shall bring you there*). In forms as *kitáino I see you* there has been contraction of two *o*'s, as the stem-vowel in such cases is *o*, cf. *nitáinoau I see him*. This group of animate verbs with *o* as stem-vowel has the form of the third person singular as agens and the fourth person singular as patiens ending in *-oyiu(aie)*, e.g. *áinoyu(aie) or nányiu(aie) third person sees fourth person*, *áoɣkoyiu(aie) third person waits for fourth person* (cf. *nitáinoau I see him*, *nitáoɣkoau I wait for him*). The imperatives with an agens of the second person singular and a patiens of the third person singular or plural of these *o*-stems end, respectively, in *-os* and *-osa u*, e.g. *nínós see him*, *óɣkos wait for him*, *nínósau see them*, *óɣkosau wait for them*, whereas in all other transitive animate verbs the endings of the same forms are, respectively, *-is* and *-isa u*, e.g. *siksipis bite him*, *siksipisau bite them*. Another peculiarity of these *o*-stems is that in their centripetal forms we often hear *-auk* instead of *-ok*, e.g. *nitáinauk = nitáinok he sees me*.

As I have given the full paradigm of *nitsiksipau I bite him* : *siksipiu he bites him* in § 71 (for the other moods, and for the contrasting centripetal and centrifugal forms, see the paragraphs appertaining to them), and as the few peculiarities of the *o*-stems mentioned above do not require to be expounded in complete tables, I can now pass on to a special group of animate transitive verbs that deserves to be treated in a paragraph of its own.

#### § 109. Transitive animate verbs in *-ta u*, *-tsiu*.

The animate transitive verbs with *t* before the conjugational endings share with other animate transitives the loss of final *o* in the centrifugal form with the 1 p. sing. as agens and the 2 p. sing. as patiens (see § 108). For *kitánist I tell you* the original form *kitánisto* may still be heard in old folk-tales, but, e.g., in *kitoxpát I carry you*, *kitoxkot I give to you* I never heard an *o* pronounced at the end.

An important peculiarity of this class is that their *t* is assimilated to *ts* before *i*, e.g.:

*áuatsiu(aie) third person eats fourth person*, *áuatsis eat (sing.) him* : *nitáuatau I eat him*, *áuatok eat (pl.) him*.

*ixpátsiu(aie) third person carries fourth person*, *pátsis carry (sing.) him* : *nitoxpátau I carry him*, *pátok carry (pl.) him*.

Another characteristic trait of these verbs is that in the forms with centripetal *k*, the indefinite passive forms containing the same *k* included, the stem-consonant *t* is lost, e.g.:

*kitoxpáaki you carry me* : *kitoxpát I carry you*.

nitožpáak *he carries me* : nitožpátau *I carry him*.

nitožpáako *I am carried* (: nitožpátaki *I carry*).

Nearly always the loss of *t* is accompanied with contraction, e.g.:

einí otáisopoaxtsisàk *the buffalo* (4 p.) *inquires after him* : nitsopóaxtsi-satau *I inquire after him*, sopóaxtsisatsiu *he* (3 p.) *inquires after him* (4 p.).

ákapinakū otsékunaksekàk ožkói *it was nearly day, his son went on kicking him* : nitáisekatau *I kick him*, áisekatsiu (sáiekatsiu) *he* (3 p.) *kicks him* (4 p.).

otsítotásiuanàkaie *he* (4 p.) *then was leading his (the other's) horse* : nitsitaxtsioautasiuanàtau *I then led the (other) horse instead*.

matápi otápokapinixkakoaii Katáimiks *they* (3 p.) *were called by the people* (4 p.) *by an inverted name "Not-laughers"* : nitáinixkatau *I call him*, áinixkatsiu *he* (3 p.) *calls him* (4 p.).

népuzkanòpskàkò *I was taken a captive by wolves*.

Also the centripetal and indefinite passive *k*-forms of *to give* show contraction:

kitožkoki *you give to me* : kitožkot *I give to you*.

kitožkok *he gives to you* : kitožkotau *you give to him*.

nitožkok *he gives to me* : nitožkotau *I give to him*.

ótožkok *fourth person gives to third person* : ixkòtsiu *he* (3 p.) *gives to him* (4 p.).

nitožkoko *I am given* (i.e. *something is given to me*) (: nitožkòtaki *I give*).

Quite irregular are the centripetal and indefinite *k*-forms of the transitive animate stem *anist-* *to say to somebody, to tell somebody*, which are derived immediately from the root (in this case = the intransitive stem), e.g.:

nitánik *he tells me* : nitánistau *I tell him* (: nítáni *I say*).

otánik *fourth person tells third person* : ánistsiu *he* (3 p.) *tells him* (4 p.) (: ániu *he says*).

nitániko *I am called (my name is)* : nitánistau *I call him*.

nitániisi ninna, kitánikoyi *when my father told me how you are called* : kitáništtau *you call him*.

#### § 110. Transitive inanimate verbs in -ixp (-ip) and -tsixp (-tsip).

As we have seen already in § 94 the transitive inanimate verbs may be divided into two groups, the first of which has the first and the second person singular of the indicative in -i(x)p or -tsi(x)p and the third person singular of the indicative in -im(aie) or -tsim(aie). Some people always use the forms with *x*, while others regularly prefer the forms without that spirant. The characteristic vowel immediately before the conjugational endings, which are the same in both classes of transitive inanimate verbs, is *i* throughout all the moods.

For the endings of the indicative see § 71, where the forms of nitsikstsixp

*I bite it* : sikstsím(aie) *he bites it* are given as paradigm (for the other moods see the paragraphs, where they are systematically treated).

§ 111. Transitive inanimate verbs in -toχp (-top).

The other group of transitive inanimate verbs has the first and second person singular of the indicative in -to(χ)p and the third person singular of the indicative in -tom(aie). The same people who use the forms in -ixp and -tsixp (see § 110) use those in -toχp, whereas the forms without χ are always preferred by the people that pronounce -ip and -tsip instead of -ixp and -tsixp. The characteristic vowel immediately preceding the conjugational endings, which are the same as in the -ixp-class, is o throughout all the moods.

For the indicative see § 81, where the forms of nitoxpátōχp *I carry it* : ixpátom(aie) *he carries it* are given as paradigm (for the other moods see the paragraphs appertaining to them).



## CHAPTER XVII.

### Verbs (continued).

#### § 112. Composition of nominal stems with verbal forms.

Our picture of the Blackfoot verb would be incomplete, if we did not say a few words about its immense compositional power. So we find here, just as in other Algonquian languages, the composition of nominal stems with verbal forms, that has often, but inappropriately, been called "noun-incorporation". Among the compounds of this kind are many old hunting-expressions, e.g.:

nitáuakasauakimmau *I chase an antelope (antelopes) : áuakàsi antelope.*

nitsinokauakimmau *I chase an elk (elks), ákitsinokauàkimaup there we (incl.) shall chase elk, ki itstsíp imánistainokoḡkauàkimaup and there are still some more elk we (incl.) have to chase, nitsinokakiàki I trap an elk (elks), cf. also itànokāḡkumiu (itàinokāḡkumiu) he then yelled like an elk : -i n o k - = ponokáu elk.*

nitàpi'sauakimmau *I chase a wolf or coyote (wolves or coyotes), nitàpi'sekiàki I trap a wolf or coyote (wolves or coyotes) : api'si wolf, coyote.*

nitoyḡkyaiekiàki *I trap a bear (bears) : kyáio bear.*

nitsinokâmitakiàki *I trap a horse (horses) : -i n o k â m i t - = pono-kâmita horse.*

nitsinopakiàki *I trap a kit-fox (kit-foxes) : sinopá kit-fox.*

nitsiksiskstakiàki *I trap a beaver (beavers) : ksiskstaki beaver.*

nitsisoḡpskyekiàki *I trap a musk-rat (musk-rats) : misoḡpski musk-rat.*

Of a different kind are cases as:

omi apikskèini támsaikoyinai *the scabby buffalo-cow (4 p.) then had a calf, itáumatapsaikoyiau then they began to have calves, akāḡkanâisai koyiu all had calves already, imāḡksikoyinai she (4 p.) was big with calves, ixtâipstsikoyiau therefrom they held their colts hard inside (their bodies), sâisai koyiu she had pups, mânisai koyiu she (4 p.) just had a litter of pups : -k o y i - calf, colt, pup.*

Nor seems -otas- *beast, horse* to occur in a true verbal compound. Forms as manistoḡkotâspiau *how they got horses, nanistôtaspinan as we (excl.) owned horses (separately),* and the like, belong to the possessive verb nitôtâsi *I have a horse* (see § 79), and the transitive animate stem -otasiu-ana(a)t- *to lead a horse* is evidently a derivate, no compound. In nímoy-taitsiuotaspinan *from that we (excl.) had good horses* we have to do with a possessive verb -aitsiuotasi-.

There are many true verbal compounds of the verb -epuyi- *to speak*, e.g.

aitsepuyiu *speaks Indian* (: nitsitapi *the Indians*), aisapoepuyiu *speaks Crow-Indian* (: Isapó *the Crow-Indians*), ápinápisinaipuyiu *speaks Sioux* (: Pinápisina *the Sioux*), áutsinaipuyiu *speaks Gros-ventre* (: Atsiná *the Gros-ventre*), etcet.

Other examples of verbs compounded with nominal stems:

támakesápskaukik *then put* (pl.) *a woman's dress on me* : ákê *woman*.

ákitáumatapitsiuaikaŷtsiau *then they would begin to play the wheel-game* : -itsiu - = itsiuan (itsiwan) *gambling-wheel*.

imikóaie *the snow was deep*, iiksimiko *the snow was very deep*, otsito-maimikoŷpi *where the snow was very deep* : -k o = kóni *snow*.

áisuistsikoniäŷsiu *he was knocking the snow off himself* : kóni *snow*.

mómaitapimui (máumaitapimui) *it smells very much as if there were a person (as if there were people)*, áitapiauyiu *he eats people (he is a man-eater)* : -itapi = matápi *person, people*.

There may be cited a good deal more of such isolated cases, but by far the greater part of the nominal stems compounded with verbal forms belong to the body-part-names and their compositional substitutes (cf. § 7).  
E.g.:

nitátsäpini *I have eye-ache*, nitáisekaŷkapiniäpiks *I am winking (throwing my eyes)*, ápasäpinioŷsiu (-uŷsiu) *he was wiping about his eyes*, amó oápsp mistsii ixtátsäpinisiuaie *he burnt the eye with the stick (the eye is expressed twice)*, otsitaskäpiniokäiks *they* (4 p.) *threw dust in his eyes*, nitsikaŷpoäpinisinái *she* (4 p.) *had her eyes swollen (with crying)* : -a p i n i *eyes*.

nitsitaukauaukaiaki *I have a bare breast* : -a u k a i - : máukaiis *breast*.

kákoŷtanatsäuyixtsiu *he lay with only his mouth sticking out a little*, áitoŷtsikitäuyakiöpiäu *then they would all stay with white mouths from it*, nitáisatsiskoyinokinan *he split our (excl.) mouths wider*, áiamoyiniauaiks *they pull their mouths crooked (viz. of the people who eat during the night)* : -a u y - (-o y -) : máuyi *mouth*.

nitátsëkini *I have tooth-ache*, áitapaŷpáksikinäu *he just clattered his teeth* : -i k i n - (-e k i n -) *tooth*.

otsitsipotsistsikapiäie *where her shoulders came together*, nitáispistsikäki *I raise my shoulders* : -i s t s i k a - *shoulder*.

ixpsitoksistsinäpiksop *it was (thrown) between buffalo-hoofs* : -i s t s i n - : moŷsistsini *hoof*.

nitsikaŷpekaŷk *I have a swollen foot*, nitsipáksaikaki *I have bare feet*, nitáisaipikaki *I stretch my leg*, nitáuaksikäki *I bend my leg* : -k a *foot, leg*.

pinipóŷkiäkik (pinipüŷkiäkik) *do. (pl.) not hold your heads up*, nitsipaiksikyóŷkiakinai *he* (4 p.) *stuck his head high up*, kanáixtsapoŷkísik *lie all of you (pl.) with the head to the centre of the lodge*, itsitsáikauatoŷkyóŷsiu *at first he shook his head hard* : -k i *head*.

itapitoŷkyaisinai *then he* (4 p.) *laid his face on (it)*, itsistapotäkoŷkyakinai *then she* (4 p.) *turned her face away from (him)* : -k i *face*.

itáikikäixtsiu *then she lay down on her back*, itáikstsikikasiu *he scratched*

his back on (it), áskʸsotapauauakèkauaniuaie he was always rolling about on his back : -kik- (-kèk-) back.

imakápaisatsikixkiniokiniki even if you cut gashes in my head, káʸkita-paiàkopokixkiniuaie you (pl.) must prepare to break his head : -(k)ixkin- head.

aitsimixkiniakiu her hair is unraveled, otáitsinixkinipokaiks they (4 p.) gnawed off all his hair : -(k)ixkin- hair.

itomátapinikinàiaiks then they started to make grease of the bones : -kin : oxkin bone.

saiátsekekiniau he was hit on the head and cut, káʸpskiniau he was hit on the head and swollen : -kin- head.

otsítomatapipoxksistskinipokaiks then they (4 p.) began to gnaw off his hair : -kin- hair.

nitsipáksaikinàki I have bare legs, nitsistsékinaki I have a hurting leg-bone : -kinaki leg (leg-bone).

nitásausikinistsàki I stretch my arm, nitáuaksikinistsàki I bend my arm : -kinists- arm.

nitáumokinistsàki I close the hand, nitsistsékinists I have hand-ache : -kinists- hand.

nitáisaitsekitsàki I spread my fingers out, káʸksamotapaitsinikitsixpuau you (pl.) might wear your claws out for nothing : -kits- : mokitsis finger (claw).

ixtsitsitsisksistùniuaie he then hit him on the throat with (it), itsitsoʸksistùniuaie he then hit her on the throat : -ksistun- : moʸksistùna throat.

iikástoksoyìi they eat awfully much raw food, káʸkaukoʸkòksoyixpuau you (pl.) must just have eaten raw food, áitamauksoyiau they ate the raw entrails being happy, káʸkotaiàuksoixp (-oyixp) that you may later come and eat of the entrails : ok(s)-, auk(s)- raw, raw food, raw entrails, entrails.

támsapokakinitoyiuaie there he shot him then right in his back, itsiksistoxkokakiniàpiksiu he then stopped bucking (throwing his back) : mokakini back.

áisokèkininiuaiks he was feeling their breasts with his hands, nitsipáksaukèkinaki I have a bare breast : mokèkin breast.

nitástsokini I have breast-ache : -okin- : mokèkin breast.

kákoʸpomòksakin he (4 p.) just pressed it under his arm, askʸspau-mòksàkiuaie he had it always under his arm : moksísi arm-pit.

imakétokuyitoʸkònimásau notokāni if they find only one hair of my head, okúyoauaists mistsísts ánnistsiaie ixtápaxpokúyiuiaie (the people) brushed their fur with sticks : okúyi (a single) hair.

nitstatsikioʸtòkiokò I am hit between the ears : moʸtókis ear.

nitsipáksoʸtsimínai I have bare arms : -oxtsimín- : moʸtsimínan arm.

skátamanístapinauminiuaiks then their wings were growing long : -omin- : mamín feather.

pinsápotoksinokik do (pl.) not put your hands in my kidneys, sotámsapo-  
toksiníuaie she then stuck her hands near the kidneys : otóki kidney.

itánnitpsikamàiau then they split the ribs : - pik rib. pekis rib.

ósotamomaxkakaitapisaksitòkaie he then was suddenly shot by him  
(4 p.) in the thigh, so that there was a gap in it : moápisák thigh.

nitápasistsiniäpiks I move (throw about) my toes : - sistsin - toe.

itauápatskimiuaie then he began to knock his (the bob-cat's) face back,  
itomátapsatsikskyötäysiu (-oysiu) he then began to scratch his (own)  
face : - ski - face.

nitástsoxtsatsikskini I have back-ache, nitáutoxskiniaki I bend my back,  
itsitsimikskinimíuaie he threw him on his back against (it) : - skini back.

nitástsispi I have head-ache, sotámikspíuaie he just smashed his head,  
ótaxtaikspipokoaiauaie they were each of them bitten through the skull by  
her (4 p.), ikspiáu he has a crushed skull : - spi - head, skull.

kimátakoxtaistòkitòko you will not be shot through the body with (it),  
mátakaistokitoâu (mátaistokitoâuats) he would not be shot through the  
body, ikamistokitòaxk if he was shot through the body : - sto - : mostúmi  
body.

káxkstokitsiu he cuts off his (another person's) ear, nitstatsikistòkioko  
I am hit between the ears : - stoki - : moxtókis ear.

itáisustutsisimaiau then they began to cool the guts, ákokyaisautsisaiau  
they will all have their guts torn out : utsi guts.

### § 113. Composition of verbal stems with verbal forms.

No less important than the composition of noun-stems with verbal forms  
is the dvandva-like composition of two or more verbal stems, one of the  
most characteristic traits of this language, and, in general, of languages  
belonging to the same type. Examples may be found on any page of our  
texts. If a verbal stem is very often used as first member of such a com-  
pound, it will become an idiomatic prefix, whereas a stem is apt to become  
a suffix, if it usually functions as second member of verbal compounds.

Examples of verb-stems preceding other verbs in verbal compounds:

aist - coming close, e.g. aistauánis if he comes close saying, áistomax-  
kàiau they are running close, áxkaistsaipiskoxtoaiiks let us (incl.) make a  
charge on them when they are near, áuaistsiksisau (a herd of buffalo) is  
running near, ákaistapòtsiu he will come near with the carcase : nitaistò I  
come near, áistò he comes near.

amit - going up the river, going westward, e.g. ákoxtamitapaukèkaup  
we (incl.) shall camp about along up the river, ákamitsistotskixtisip A'ke-  
koksistaskuyi we (incl.) shall move up the river to Woman's point, nisót-  
tamamitomáxk I then ran higher up the river, axkstámitaxkumiosi that we  
(incl.) should not shoot westward : nisótamitapamito I just went up the  
river towards (it), nisótamoxtamito then I went along up the river.

anit - separating, e.g. itauánitsitapaykaiiau then they went home

separately to (their lodges), itánetomaykàiau then they ran away separately, sotámanitsipiksiu then (the buffalo) ran all in different directions, ántsi-nitsiuai he cut (the elk) to pieces : nitánitò I separate, ánitò he separates.

a p - going about, e.g. kitápasámmok he is looking about for you, támapapàisaisto then again he cried about the camp, támoxtapauàuaɣkau he then walked along about, áisamitapàupiau they lived there about during a long time : sépiapò he traveled in the night, istápuinànikì when we (excl.) travel about, minápiapòk do (pl.) not travel about far.

a p a t - (a p á t -) going behind, being behind, e.g. nisótamitapataupi I then sat there behind (the shop), itapátskapínai then he (4 p.) pulled back, minapátsapit do not look back, áuapatsistaniskapatòmiauaists they would pull them (in.) back out of sight, itapátapiksimma omístsi kaiísts then he threw back those quills : ápatò he is behind, ninitapàtau I was behind.

a p a m - (- o p a m -) going across, e.g. autamákopamistàiiua he was nearly diving across, aísopámotototàiau they went on ahead across the river to build a fire, nitsitámsókitopamaipuyi I then was suddenly standing across : nitáupámò I cross, áupámò he crosses.

a u m a t - (- o m a t -) starting, beginning, e.g. áumatapò he starts to travel, itáumatomaykau then he started to run, mátsitomátsoo then he started on another raid, akómátástoɣkixp we (incl.) shall begin to get close to it, stámomatauaníu then he started to fly : nitáumatò I start, áumatò he starts.

a u m a t a p - (- o m a t a p -) starting, beginning, e.g. áumatapiítsimàu (the people) began to skin, áumatapòtsim he started to swim, itáumata-pasàiniú then he began to cry, mátsitomatapiksisàu (the buffalo-herd) had started again to run, nitsitomatàpioyi then I began to eat : nitáumatapò I start, áumatapò he starts.

a u t a k - (o t a k -) going around, e.g. amói eini áutaksiksísàs when these buffalo were running around, itáutakaníau then they went around saying, itáutakomaykau then he would run around, áitotakixpisau, when they are dancing in a circle : nitáutakò I go around, áutakò he goes around.

i k a m - being quick, e.g. ikamánistotsit do it quickly, nitáksikamopaki I shall move my lodge quickly, iksikamipiksiau they ran off very fast, itsikaminakasinaí then (the gambling-wheel) (4 p.) rolled faster : ikamó he is fast (about i k a m - as dubitative prefix in the conjugation see § 81 at the end).

i x t - going along, e.g. ixtsapó she walked along, ixtsinapapauàuaɣkaiixk he was walking about along down the river, nímists ixtapipuyin they (4 p. sing.) stood about along on the westside, áɣkunoytàpauàuaɣkau let us (incl.) travel along, stámoxtàmisò then he started up along : ixtò, áuxtoò he goes along (cf. § 115).

i n i p i t - freezing, e.g. itomátapinipitáɣkumiua he then started to cry as if he were freezing : nitsinipitsi I freeze, inipitsiu he freezes.

i s - going ahead, going in front, e.g. itsisanistsiu then he said ahead to

her, áisapásapii they went ahead to look about, otsitsisaskunakak then he was shot at ahead by him (4 p.), itsisomaykaiau then they ran ahead, otsitaisipuyimokaie then she (4 p.) would stand in front of him, itsitótsisà-piksim then he threw it in front of him : itsisó then he went ahead.

ist(s) - going into the forest, being in the forest, e.g. itsistsàpiksiaiu they then fled into the brushes, annóyk ámo akétui ánnamale itsistsaupiu now in this bunch of timber he is sitting : nitáistsò, nitsistsò I go into the forest, itsistso she went into the forest.

itom - (-otom-) going first, being on the lead, e.g. itòmipüyiu (itòmipuyiua) he stands first, itomaipiksiu he strikes first, itomâpauauaykau he walked about being on the lead, otsitòminok (-inauk) he was first caught by him (4 p.), nitâkotòmitsip I shall go in there first : nitsitomo I go first, itomo, âtomo he goes first.

k siu - (kso-) going on foot, e.g. áistamiksiuauauaykau then he would just travel on foot, áiksoatâkkoxtaiau they would again go on foot for wood : nitâiksiuq, nitsiksiuó I go on foot, áiksiuó, ksiuó he goes on foot.

matom - (-atom-) going first, e.g. matòmsotsikat you must slide first, áistamatòmipiksiu then he will strike first : matómó he goes first.

mista p - going away, e.g. mistapsaksist go away outside, mistapipòtos take him away and let him loose, itsistapokskàsiaiu then they ran away : nitâiistapò I go away, mistapot go away.

mox t - going along, e.g. omoxtaukskàsi where she was running along, ómoxtsinâpiskokaie he was chased along by him (4 p.) lower down : nitúixk nimoxto I went along in the same direction, omoxtóxpiaiu how they went along (cf. § 115).

nip - (-ip-), nîpu(i) - (-ipu-, -ipui-) standing upright, getting up, e.g. nipâupit sit up, nitsipâipuyi I am standing up, itsipâitapiksim then he threw it up, nimâtsipusamaiaiu I then looked up at them (an.) again, itâmisokitsipuistâpiksiaiu then they suddenly jumped up and away : nitsitâipuyi I stand there, nitsipuâu, nitâipuau I get up, nîpuâut get up (cf. § 114).

ox p - rushing through the air, e.g. omî otsitsikakixp, ostói ixtsitoxpâipiu from where it was lowest, he himself jumped down; eini omâxtâxpauânis omî piskân that buffalo were jumping off into the corral : nitôxpi, nitâxpi I rush through the air, ôxpiu, âxpiu, âuxpiu he rushes through the air.

ox s - going backwards, e.g. nôykâtoxsitsksapôyinaí he (4 p.) followed also back the same tracks past, ixtoxsásainin he (4 p.) cried from behind : itâxso then (the buffalo-herd) moved backwards, âuapatoxso he goes backwards.

ot - (ot t-), otô(i) - coming, coming near, going to, e.g. itsitoxkanautsistotsiu then they all came and camped there, annaxkyótòmoxt now go home and gather for yourself (now go home and tell the women to come out), ôtsimotât go and run home for safety, kimaukstamitâutsipuyisks why do you just stand near?, itotâupiaie he sat by (it), âukanautûinotau all went to skin, matsitotosâtsim they (sing.) came again to look at (the snares), itsipiôtôisimiu she then went into the night to get a drink : nitâitôtò,

nitsitòtò *I come to, I go to, áitòtò, itsitòtò, áutò, itsitáutò he comes to, he goes to.*

pinap - (-inap-) *going down the river, going eastward, e.g. nisótamatsinàpaykai I then went back home down the river, ixtsinapàutsim he is swimming along down the river : nitaistámitapipinapo I then go a long way down the river, ánnamaie ítomaipinapo he was the first that went east.*

poyzap - *coming here, e.g. kitsitsipòysapipuaù you then got up and came up to me, áistamipoyzapistotsiu then (the tribe) moved again this way, nitáipoyzapaykàis when I was going home this way : nitáipoysapo, nitsipòysapo I come here, áipoysapo (paióysapo) he comes here.*

-puin - (-puin-) *suffering, e.g. itsipúinaskinàusiu then he cried in a hurry (literally: then he cried suffering), itskaipuinâykuminai he (4 p.) then was neighing very hard (properly: was suffering very much with neighing) : áiiksipúinam he suffers very much, íksipuinámiau máxksoatòypi they suffered very much for something to eat.*

sakap - *going out on the prairie, e.g. itáisakapomaykàinai nátsitapii then two of them (4 p.) were running out on the prairie, áisoksakapoksisaskoyiu she would suddenly chase them out of the brushes : nitsàkapò I go out on the prairie, sàkapò he goes out on the prairie.*

sap - (sap-) *getting in, e.g. itsápaupiu âxkioxsàtsis he is sitting in a boat, nikáitaisapinitau I have already killed him in there, sotámatsksapoypi then they fell back in again : itsápau then he got in.*

sap - (sap-) *going in the tracks, following, e.g. támoytsapàpauauaykaiinai walking about, he (4 p.) then followed (the road); ixtsitsapauaniauaie then they flew along after (him); tsitsapòmáxkàt then run in the tracks : einii oxsokýi ánnixkaie áutsapò he then followed the buffalo-trail.*

sitok - *going in the middle, going among, e.g. itsítokaixtsiiaiks they (an.) were lying inside, ixpsítoksistsinàpiksop it was (thrown) between buffalo-hoofs, ksiskaniáutunii itsitsitokopiin omi apikétoki in the morning the white prairie-chicken (4 p.) sat in the centre of the camp : itsítokoiaui moyists moyists then they went among the lodges.*

sk - *going back, coming back, e.g. iskoypókauanisiu he cried himself small again, kitákatsitskamiskapat I shall pull you up back again, mátskotsimiau they swam back again; ániksinisaut now come back down, itáskomaykàiau then they ran back : nitskò, nitaiskò I go back; áiskò he goes back.*

spi(u) - *going among, e.g. eini itámsokitspiàupiaui then they suddenly sat among the buffalo, itspiàukskàsiu he then ran among (them), itsitáspi-samiua then he would look for her among (them) : nitsitspiuò I go among there, itsitspiuò he goes among there.*

suí - (soi-) *going into the water (or into the fire), e.g. itsúiapàutsim she swam about in the water, sotámitsùiepuyiu then he stood up in the water, otsúiaukskàsau when they ran into the water, soiáutoka put the stone-pot in the fire : nitáisoò I go into the water, áisoò he goes into the water.*

There are many more of such verb-stems, which, when semantically

more or less subordinated to a following verbal member of the same compound, are apt to become idiomatic prefixes (cf. §§ 115—119). Not so numerous are the cases where a final member of a verbal complex is to such a degree subordinated to a preceding verb-stem that we might call it a suffix. Cf., however, cases as:

*kákasainiàpiksiu* (the dog) just howled, *nitáisekazkapiniàpiks* I am winking, *áisaitsikapiksistakiu* he rattles, *āykókakiniàpiksiu* (the horse) is bucking : *nitàpiks* I throw, *àpiksiu* he throws.

*stámistàpazkyapasainikàiyiu* he then just was crying while running away home, *ānixkiayiau* they sang while they were running, *ākakozponiāyiau* they were already out of breath by running, *otoxkikaiaisinaí* (*otoxkikaiaisinaí*) that he (4 p.) barked running : *ikāiaīn* (*ikāiaīn*) *ótās* his horse ran very fast, *áisakaiayiu* (*áisakayayiu*) *ótakēsina* all the women ran out (cf. § 114).

*itoxkitaienixkiopiu*, *mistsis* (a bird) is singing while sitting on a tree, *āioztoxkozōpiks* those that are staying sick, *kimaukitauasainiopixpuaisks* why do you (pl.) cry sitting there?, *áisistsikōpiū* they are staying tired : *nitsēpi*, *nitāupi* I sit, I stay, *ēpiu*, *āupi* he sits, he stays (cf. § 114).

#### § 114. Affixes denoting attitude.

To indicate that the subject of the (intransitive) verb is in a lying position the element *istoχk-* is prefixed, e.g.: *nitsistsistoχkāpuyi* I talk in a lying position, *itsistoχkāpuyiu* he talks in a lying position; *kitsistoχkāuyi* you eat in a lying position, *itsistoχkāuyiu* he eats in a lying position; *itsistoχkāisimiu* he drinks in a lying position; *itsistoχkaisinakiu* he writes in a lying position; *itsistoχkāutsisiu* he smokes in a lying position. Cf. also: *aiistoχkitsiu* he was lying down, *itsistoχkixtsiiaiks* then they lay down, *itástoxkopiau* then they lie down, *nitsistsistoχkozpi* then I fell down.

Not so regular are the forms which indicate that the subject is in a standing position; though it is quite clear that these forms are compounded with the verbal stem *(n)ip(u)-*, *(n)ipuyi-* (cf. § 113), either modified or not by vocalic intermutation and by reduplication, e.g.: *nitsipāipuyēpuyi* I talk while standing, *nāpaipuyiu* he talks while standing (*āipuyiu* he talks); *nitsipāisinaki* I write while standing, *nāpaisinakiu* he writes while standing; *nitsipōpuyayui* I eat while standing, *nāpopuyayui* he eats while standing; *nāpopuyisimiu* he drinks while standing; *nāpopuyisapiu* he looks while standing, *nāpuyoxsiniau* he was knocked down senseless while standing. A particular case is *nāpuyokānipuyiu* he sleeps while standing, a compound of *nāpuyokāni* sleeping while standing (a verbal abstract noun) and *-ipuyiu* stands, so that it properly means *he stands in a standing sleep*.

That one is doing something in a sitting position, is expressed by composition with the stem *-opi-* (*-aupi-*) to sit, to stay, which then functions as the last member of the verbal complex (see § 113), but which



is felt too much as a distinct compositional element to be considered by us as a suffix.

The same may be said of the stem *-ă yî-* to run (see § 113). Here are some more idiomatic compounds with *-ă yî-*: *ăpuyiayiu* he talks while running, *ăuyiayiu* he eats while running, *istăniayiu* he defecates while running.

#### § 115. Prefixes denoting local and instrumental relations.

I shall not try to give a complete list of the very numerous prefixes denoting local and instrumental relations, and corresponding semantically to the praeverbia of Indo-European languages. All of them, or nearly all of them, are registered in our Blackfoot-English Vocabulary. Therefore I may conveniently confine myself to mention the most usual of them, illustrating their use by a few phrases. I give them in alphabetical order.

*a mi-* up, e.g. *amiômaɣkāk* run (pl.) up, *itamipiksiau* (itamipiksiau) they ran up (the tree), *ănniaie niētaɣtau ixtauămisămiu* there was a river (the tribe) would go up from to hunt, *itauămiaupiu* then (the people) would sit up (on their horses).

*a mo ta p-* (*-o mo ta p-*) all over, all about, e.g. *kăɣksamotapaitsinikitsixpuau* you (pl.) might wear your claws out for nothing, *ikatomotapaiaksistapiksîu* he began to be ready to jump about.

*a p-* about, see § 113.

*a pa t-* (*a pa t-*) behind, back, see § 113.

*a pa m-* (*o pa m-*) across, see § 113.

*a pi t-* (*-o pi t-*), *a up i t-* from, out of, out of water or fire, ashore, e.g. *itsitôtapitsisaniua* then she, close to it, said from without ahead; *ăkitopitsiniotoyiuaie* from there she would peel (the tree); *aupitsiskapataɣs* when he was pulled ashore.

*a up-* with, e.g. *ăupixtatsikiotsimaie* he swam to the middle with (him), *ăupitsipimaie* she then entered with (it).

*a up o k-* (*-o p o k-*) with, e.g. *ăupokaɣkaimiuaie* she went home with her, *kăɣkitopoksoyîmau* that you can eat with him.

*a ta k-* (*o ta k-*) around, see § 113.

*i ki t-* (*ki t-*, *ka i i t-*) over, across, aloft, on top, on high, e.g. *mămăpists itsikita paumaɣkau* he ran about over the old camp-ground, *kiăkitotoɣpaipiînai* and she (4 p.) just-jumped over to (it), *ponokămitaiks ităikitatsimaiau* (the dead) were laid across on horses, *ănni itsikitsixtsis* put him there aloft, *stămiketsauătsiu* he then floated aloft, *kăietsopiu* he sits on high.

*i x k-* (*-o x k-*) on, on top (of), e.g. *ixkitôpiu* he sits on top (on horse-back), *itoɣkitaixtsiu aksîn* he is lying on a bed, *itoɣkitaio kau nitûmmoi* he is sleeping on a hill, *nitsitoɣkitaupi asôpătsis* I sit on a seat, *ăitoɣkitôpiaie* she sat on top of (the post).

*i x p-* (*-o x p-*) with, e.g. *ixpîpim* he came in with (the travoy), *omistsiksi pokăiks ixpîtsaksîu* he then went out with those children, *mătoɣp-*

sauaiàkatotoa, omiksim kyáioiks *those bears will not fail to come again with (your skinning the fat cow)*, tsánistapi kitákoxpakitopixpa *what is it you will ride with?* In the imperative, the conjunctive, and the subjunctive we find *p-* instead of initial *ixp-*: páupit eétan *sit with a saddle*, pákixtsisaists *put them (in.) with the otter*.

*ixpok-* (-oχpok-) *with, immediately after*, e.g. *ixpóksamistáu-kunâiimiu he had them camping with him for a long time*, *nitoxpókauauay-kâmau I am walking with him*, *ákoxpókâupop we (incl.) shall live together*, *itoxpókiômaxkauaie then she ran immediately after (him)*, *matoxpókêpuyit talk immediately back to him*. In the imperative, conjunctive, and subjunctive initial *ixpok-* is changed into *pok-*, e.g. *pókisaksist go out after (her)*. Cf. *ákoxpókâupop we (incl.) shall go together*.

*ixt-* (-oχt-) *along, from, for, with* (cf. § 113), e.g. *ixtsapó she walked along*, *ákoχtamitapaukêkaup we (incl.) shall camp about up along the river*, *ixtaykáiiu he went home from (there)*, *itámsokoχtásaininai something (4 p.) suddenly cried from (the water)*, *ixtsitaykitsuaists they (sing.) rushed for them*, *nimátoχtsikixpa ninauyists I do not care for man's lodges*, *ixtúitsiu piskâni the corral was full with (the buffalo)*, *ixtsitsíkiu he whistled with (his whistle)*. In the imperative, conjunctive, and subjunctive *ixt-* is shortened to *t-*: *tâpipiksik run (pl.) along*, *otokis inákoχtsi tótakit take a small piece of his hide*. Cf. *nitoχto I go along*, *ixtó he goes along*.

*in-* (ini-) *down*, e.g. *ináipiksistsis take him down*, *nitáksinitsokôtatau I shall spit down on him*, *otsitsinaipotokaie he was let down by him (4 p.)*, *âniômaxkau he has run down*.

*ipist-* (ipst-) *in, inside, into*, e.g. *itsípistaupiu moyis he sat in the lodge*, *otâitsipstâipuyisaie when he was standing inside*, *ixtoχkánaipstânis-tôtsixp inside it was all decorated with (otter-skins)*, *âipstomaykâii they would start to run in*.

*ipot-* *towards the door*, e.g. *itsípotapiksistsiaie she then threw him towards the door*, *itsíppotauaninai then he (4 p.) flew towards the door*. Cf. *otsípotoχs when he went towards the door*.

*is-* *ahead, in front*, see § 113.

*ist-* *in, into*, e.g. *natsikists ámoistsiâuki, iststakâkitau here are my moccasins, stick your feet in them*, *itsistâpiksitiu he then ran into (a hole)*. Cf. *ist(s)- in the forest, into the forest* (see § 113).

*istan-* *out of sight*, e.g. *anniksi tokskâniks matsiniôauaists áuapatsi-staniskapatômiauaists of some other people they would pull back their tongues out of sight*, *âistanisôo he went out of sight*.

*it-* *there, in a certain place*, see § 89.

*itap-* *towards*, e.g. *mistákists itapípinsin they (4 p. sing.) fled to the mountains*, *itsitâpsuiâxpâipiaie he then jumped into the water towards (him)*, *amói nóxpokuna nitâkitapâpiksistau I shall throw this my ball here over to (you)*, *âitapoχpaipiaie he was jumping over to (the prairie-chicken)*. In the imperative, conjunctive, and subjunctive initial *itap-* is

changed to *istap-* : *natósiua àinakúyis, tókskaie mistsísi istápoχkistòt* when the (new) moon is seen, then lay one stick pointing to (her), *istápsyàpiksítáu matápiua throw* (the arrows) towards and among the people. Cf. *nitáitapo, nitsitápo I go to, áitápo, itápo he goes to*.

*itsin-* among, e.g. *támitsinápauáuaχkau dtámisin* he then traveled about among the wolves, *nimátaitsinspaiksau* I am not among them.

*itsist-* on each side, e.g. *nitáipiskoanàn, itsistsápomaχk(au)* we (excl.) drove (the cow) far, she would run on each side; *ki einii omí áitsistotanisiinai* and buffalo (4 p.) fell down on each side of (him).

*itsk-* past, e.g. *autsitsixpiènikiaiki* when I dance by, *otáutsitskaumay-kámokaie* he (4 p.) had run past (the hunting-party), *manistsitsksinitoχ-sauai* when they cut through the hide (past the hide). About the use of this prefix in the formation of the comparative see § 28. Cf. *nitsitskoo I go past, itsitskoo he goes past*.

*itsk-* on the prairie, e.g. *námists stámitsitskoχkitapiksixp (-apitsixp)* then it was thrown east right on the prairie, *áitsksistotsisi* when (the people) had moved to the prairie. Cf. *nitáitskò, nitsitskò I go on the prairie, áitskò he goes on the prairie*.

*itsóχk-* before, in front of, e.g. *itsóχkaipuyiáu* they stood before (the opening of the hole), *támitsoχkoχpiinai* then (the gambling-wheel) (4 p.) fell down before (the door of the lodge). In the imperative, conjunctive, and subjunctive initial *itsóχk-* is changed to *istsóχk-* : *istsóχkstautos stick* (the awls) in front (of the door), *istsóχkopit* sit before (the door).

*kim-* at the upper end, e.g. *itsikimaixtsinai* then (the gambling-wheel) (4 p.) lay at the upper end of the lodge. Cf. *itsikimau, támikimò* then he went to the upper end of the lodge.

*ksik-* past, e.g. *áuksiksisò* he had just gone out of sight, *ákoχtaksiksau-maykàiinai* he (4 p.) would run out past (him).

*ksiksk-* (*kaiiksk-*) on, one side, e.g. *itsiksikskomayχkau* then he ran to the side (where those were that sat at the end). Cf. *kaiikskàtsiuaie* he went on one side of them (viz., of the geese).

*ksisap-* down to the river, e.g. *itáiksisapistotsiu* (the people) used to move down to the river, *ómoχtaksisapsimixpi* (ómayt-) where they (sing.) would come down to the river to drink. Cf. *stámiksisapò* then he went down to the river.

*ksist-* around, e.g. *sotámiksisitsipuyiàiks* then they stood around, *ákai-tautsiksistopin omí noχkétsitapi* the people of the different tribe (4 p.) were already sitting around.

*mist-* (-ist-) away, e.g. *mistòtos* take him away, *itaiistapiksimaie* he then would throw it away, *nitsistsipoxtokayka* who has run away with my wife.

*mistap-* (-istap-) away, see § 113.

*móχt-* along, from, for, with (cf. § 113), e.g. *amók nimóχtoto* over that way I came, *móχtstuyisop* we (incl.) are ashamed of (him), *ánnixkaie nimóχtsipi* that is why I entered, *annóχk nimóχtsistapo* therefore I went

away, *nímoxtauauaiakiau mistsís I hit him with a stick*. Cf. *nítúixk nímoxto I went along in the same direction*.

*nám-* (-*am-*) eastward, east, e.g. *pináminakatòk do (pl.) not roll (the gambling-wheel) eastward*, *tókskamiks ápaiòkaiks maiáiuauaiks mat-aiámapiksistsiauaiks they would also throw the robes of some people, that were sleeping about, eastward*. Cf. *námists* eastward, east, on the eastside (also *namists-*, *-amists-* occasionally as a prefix: *aiámistsipata-kaiayin he (4 p.) was running east*).

*nim-* (-*im-*) westward, west, e.g. *itsimsapiu he looked west*. Cf. *nimists (nimistsk) westward, west, on the westside*.

*nox-* from, for, with, e.g. *noxástokoxkòyiu from (that) they (sing.) got plenty to eat*, *kinoxtákspaskàxpi that you might dance for, (ni)nox-tauauaiakiok mistsís he hits me with a stick*.

*oxs-* behind, out of sight, back, see § 113.

*ot-* (aut-) near, close by, see § 113.

*otami-* (autami-) in a high place, on high, in sight on a hill, over the hill, e.g. *itáutamianiu he said on high (down to the people)*, *itótamiaupiu he is sitting in sight on a hill*, *násotamisápi I shall just look over the hill*.

*otatsi-* (autatsi-) on top, e.g. *ixtsitákotatsiksísàup then (all the buffalo) began to run along on top (of him)*, *ináitsautatsisàpoxtom then he put (his arrows) down in on top (of it)*.

*paχksist-* aside, e.g. *ponokāmitaiks páχksistsepuyiau the horses are standing aside*, *omí mistsísi itsitsipaχksistspiniuaiks he hit them with that stick alongside of their necks*.

*pi-* far, e.g. *pyómaχkau he went far*, *ápisakapòiaiks they got far out on the prairie*, *ápiàpsamiiu then they (sing.) hunted far about*. Cf. *nitápiuò I am far*, *piuò (pioó)*, *ápiuò (ápiò) is far*.

*pixk-* in front, e.g. *itsipíxkiniuaie he then caught him as he went by* (literally: *he then caught him in front*).

*pinap-* down the river, eastward, see § 113.

*poχs-* hither, this way, e.g. *kitáipoχsotásam (kitsipóχsotasám) I come here to see you*, *póχsapo he comes here*.

*poχsap-* hither, this way, see § 113.

*pot* (ipot-) in the direction of, facing, towards, opposite, e.g. *sotá-miamipotàupiu then the war-party just sat there facing (the other party)*, *imakóχksipotàuòtsinikaiks even if they (4 p.) were shooting back at him*, *misksippotapòiau they then went instead in the opposite direction*. About the use of this prefix in the reciprocal conjugation see § 74.

*sai-* (sau-, s-) out, e.g. *sáistaxkapin one (4 p.) crawled out*, *itáumatapsaixpiu then (the people) made a rush out*, *pinsásamis (pinsái-samis) do not look out at him*, *ákstámsautoyiu otoán then he would take out his knife*, *otsítsanikaie he then was told by him (4 p.) from within* (properly: *told out by him*).

*sak-* out, e.g. *áisakayayiu (áisakaiayiu) ótakèsina all the women ran*

out fast, nitsàkapò *I go out on the prairie, áksàkoḡsoyiu it will boil over (properly: out).*

s a k a p - out on the prairie, see § 113.

s a p - on each side, e.g. nistói sapánisi let (buffalo) fall down on each side of me, itsistsapomàḡk(au) she would run on each side (the idea on each side is expressed twice).

s a p - in, into, see § 113.

s a p - in the tracks, on the trail, after, following, see § 113.

s a t - out, e.g. nitáisatapiksistau *I throw him out.*

s i k - down, e.g. áisikapinimaists he let (the snares), down, ánnauk nistóá nitáisikaipiksixpi akánists *I was the one that let down the snares.*

s i s a p o k - through, e.g. sisapóksòtau it rains through, stámsisapòk-sistaxkapiu he then crawled through, otáisisapokoḡpisi that (his food) fell through (his body).

s i t o k - in the middle, among, see § 113.

s k - back, see § 113.

s p - up, e.g. óma osáka spsinipís lick up to that piece of back-fat, matsitspàḡkumiu then he shot up again, itspsápiu then he looked up, támits-piniuaie then he lifted him up.

s p i (u) - among, see § 113.

s t - under the water, e.g. itástapiniuaie then she pulled her (i.e. her head) under the water.

s t a ḡ t - under the surface, under the water, e.g. istáḡtsikokùto (the creek) was frozen under the surface, áḡké itastáḡtaupiu he stays under the water.

s u i - in the water (or fire), into the water (or fire), close by the water (or fire), see § 113.

t a p - (t a p -) on the other side, over on that side, over there, e.g. ómi tápinàkit take hold of (the robes) over there on that side, ámoḡk amitoḡts tápipiksik run (pl.) over that way higher up.

t a t s i k - (t a t s i k -) in the middle, to the middle, between, e.g. áupixtatsikiotsimaie he swam with (him) to the middle (of the river), áixtatsikistotsikxistsimiau amói kokotúyi they had moved to the middle of the ice, nitstatsikistòkioko *I am hit between the ears.*

## § 116. Prefixes denoting temporal relations.

The following alphabetical list of prefixes denoting temporal relations is not meant to be exhaustive, but, nevertheless, certainly contains the most usual of them.

a k - about to, going to, nearly, see § 92.

a k - often, see § 57.

a k a p -, - i k a p - often, e.g. nitsikákapanistotsixp *I very often do it, mátaksikàpoḡtskúnakiöpa we (incl.) will not often shoot with (it), áikapisi-miitapaumixkau he is often fishing alone secretly.*

*a n-* (*a n n-*) *now*, e.g. *ansákapoys now let him come out*, *aninisauk now get (pl.) off (your horses)*, *anistapot now walk away*, *annopakiit now move camp*, *annotápsamisa now go and look for him*.

*a n n a p-* (*a n a p-*, *n a p-*) *now*, e.g. *annápautsik kitsinánouaists now take (pl.) your things*; *nápaiàkomaykàt now try and run away*.

*a n n o x k-* *now*, e.g. *annóxkotaykòsit now go and get the carcass*, *annóxkoypotòmitsit now take the lead with (it)*. Cf. the independent word *ánnoxk now* (see § 121).

*a u k-* (*-o k-*) *a while, just*, e.g. *nitáuksokau (the war-party) slept a while*, *káxkaukokos you must just have a child (you must have a child for a while)*.

*a u m a t-* (*-o m a t-*) *starting, beginning, going to, nearly*, see § 113.

*a u m a t a p-* (*-o m a t a p-*) *starting, beginning*, see § 113.

*a u t a m-* (*á t a m-*, *o t a m-*) *then, after a while, later on, now, just*, e.g. *áutamitsksinoau then he was known*, *atámauauaykau he then traveled*, *atámànistsis tell him after a while*, *nitákotòmitapo I shall go there after a while*, *nitáutamisistsikò I am tired now*.

*a u t a m a k-* *about to, going to, on the very verge of, nearly*, see § 92.

*a k-* (*a k a i-*, *a k a u-*), *-k-* (*-k a i-*, *-k a u-*), *i k-* (*i k a i-*, *i k a u-*) *already*, see § 90.

*a s i-* (*a s-*, *s i-*) *just*, e.g. *ásikipòpit just sit down for a moment*, *ásipoysapot just come here*, *sisikit just break it*, *kásikipsketso I just scare you for a while*, *násotamìsapi I shall just look over the hill*.

*a s k x s-* (*a s k x s a i-*, *a s k x s a u-*), *a i s k x s-* (*a i s k x s a i-*, *a i s k x s a u-*) *always*, e.g. *ánnaykaie askxsáipiskiu those were the people that were always corralling*, *áskxsauàsainiu he always cried*, *áskxsastaiinai he (4 p.) was always thinking*.

*i k s k a n-* *early*, e.g. *nisótamitsikskanyoyi I then ate breakfast there* (literally: *ate there early*), *ksiskaniáutunii nitsikskaniaupakii early in the morning they moved all together*.

*i k y a i-* (*i k y a u-*) *finally, after a hard struggle*, e.g. *ikyáiaáxkonoyiuaie she finally found him*, *ikyáiaínitsiuaie (the Peigan tribe) killed him after a hard fight*, *ikyáuaaykaiui finally she went home*, *nitsikyaiaiainau I finally caught him*.

*i x k-* (*-o x k-*) *ended*, e.g. *ki ánnimaie ixkakòtsiu and now the boiling is ended*, *ánniauk ixkixtsiu there was the end (of the smoke)*, *ki ánnimaie nimátoyksksinoau and that is (the end of) what I also know about him*.

*i x p i s t a p-* (*-o x p i s t a p-*) *immediately*, e.g. *sotámoxpistápsistsoyinaí then he (4 p.) immediately rattled*, *sotámoxpistápapistotsimiau okóauaists then they immediately fixed their lodges*.

*i m-* (*-o m-*, *-u m-*), *i m a i-* (*-o m a i-*, *-u m a i-*), *i m a u-* (*-o m a u-*, *-u m a u-*) *still, yet*, see § 91.

*i m a t-* *starting, going to, nearly*, e.g. *imatsípiksiaui they had started on their escape*, *imatáiniuiuaie he nearly caught her*, *imátsinetsiu he was nearly drowned*, *otsimataáisitokaie he was nearly hit by him (4 p.)*

ini- long, e.g. kimauksiniòkayks *why do you sleep so long?*

inikät- since a long time, e.g. áxksistsinikatakanistaistotoyiatsiksaisaie *it must be since a long time past that he has treated him in that way, áinikatsitsitskaisotamiuats since a long time he has always been staying out in the rain.*

ino- (inau-) long (cf. § 117) often refers to a space of time. In some cases it may be rendered by *already*, in other cases by *finally*, *to the end*, *for ever*. E.g. ináxkòtaxpiau *things that have been already given to them*, nitsinauapi'siuàs *I have turned into a wolf already*, ináuksitaisitáuksiu *he never failed to the end*, áinoáxkonoyiu *einí they (sing.) finally found the buffalo*, nitáinauáikimmátsistotòk *he has made me poor for ever.*

istsit- (istsits-) first, e.g. nitsistsitaioxtoykis noxkàtsi *the first time that I was ill in my leg*, istsitsáutoxpotàsi *when the first snow comes*, otsistsitsauapiksistayxaie *when he threw (the ball) first.*

it- then, see § 89.

itam- then, e.g. itámisauksipaupinai *then he (4 p.) suddenly sat up*, itámsokitsikinaipiminai *then suddenly he (4 p.) was gently coming in*, áitamisokitòto *then suddenly he was coming.*

itom- (-otom-) first, see § 113.

kanist- still, see § 91.

kip- quickly, soon, just for a moment, e.g. kipipótak *quickly make (pl.) a fire*, kipinisaut *get off (your horse) for a while*, anikipoxksikiakòkit *quickly make a trap for me.* Cf. § 117.

ksiskán- early, e.g. ksiskanépuas *when they (sing.) got up early.*

ksist- done, completed, see § 90.

mät-, ät- again, e.g. mätstsikòmaxkaiau *they ran back again*, matsksá-poxpiik *fall (pl.) back in again*, omátsitotoxsaie *when he came back again to her*, omátsàksi *when she came out again*, átsisamò *again after a long while*, atáksamiixk *he was going to hunt again*, káxkstàtàkàatskàni *that you should never get a partner again (any more).* Cf. § 53 and § 119.

matom- (-atom-) first, see § 65.

moxk- ended, e.g. ki ánnimaie nímoxksinoau *and that is the end of what I saw of him*, nímoxksksinixpinan *we (excl.) learned it all (to the end)*, ómoxksksinòoxpi mikoxxponiks ótàsiks *as they know their long-winded horses to the end (as they know all of their long-winded horses).*

nánai- (nánau-) finally, e.g. onánaiitasksinokoaiau *they were then finally known by them (4 p.)*, nánauáitapòae *he went finally*, nánaoikòko *finally it was night*, nánauaiksistotsisiua *he finally had done smoking.*

nats- last, see § 65.

nūtsts- last, e.g. nitstsáitapiu *he is living the last of his life*, ni(t)stsáu-òmaxkoxxpotaii *with the last big snow (properly: when it snows big the last time).*

pan- (paian-) during the night, e.g. panáuamisòk *go (pl.) before day-light (when it is still night) on high*, paiánnauapiksiau *they were running all the night*, paiánnauatòiau *they traveled all the night.*

*pitsoχk-* (*pitsooχk-*) as soon as, e.g. *pitsóχkitstsisi* as soon as (the new moon) is there, *pitsóχksinoyiuaie* as soon as she saw him, *pitsóoχksipaχtsiinakinai* as soon as he (4 p.) caught wrong.

*poχsap-* since that time (properly: *hither, this way*, see § 113), e.g. *ki ánni nisótamipoχsapaiαsaupixpinan* and then we (excl.) lived together all right since that time, *mátsipoχsapakauò ksistsikuists* a few days later (since that time).

*saki-* still, see § 91.

*sako-* last, see § 65.

*sam-* a long time, e.g. *itáisamaukunáiiu* there they camped a long time, *kitáksisamainoki* you will see me a long time, *áisamikòkò* it was late (a long time) in the night, *áisamotsisiau* they had smoked a long time. Cf. *áisamò* it is a long time, *ákáisamò* it is a long time already.

*sekun-* continually, e.g. *sekunátakanu* he kept on saying, *sekunákstatsiauaie* they continually wanted (the gambling-wheel) (to stop rolling), *otsekunaksekak* he (4 p.) went on kicking him.

*sepi-* (*sipi-*) during the night, e.g. *sipiánnikinák* during the night you (pl.) must make grease of the bones, *kokúyi omiksi manikāpii sépiapai-nixkiuðiau* in the night some young men were going about singing during the night (night is expressed twice), *ásepiomatðiau* they started during the night, *itsipioisimiu* he went in the night to get a drink.

*sik-* stopping, e.g. *ki ásisksöpu* then the wind stopped blowing, *māχksikoχpisai* that (the gambling-wheel) would stop rolling.

*skatam-* then (occurs only in de Josselin de Jong's texts), e.g. *skátamiskatoχpokāuanisiu* then he cried himself small again, *skatamómāχkimiaua* then they (i.e. the young eagles) were getting big, *skátamaipo-ñaiaks* then they would fly.

*sok-* (*sauk-*) suddenly (cf. § 117), e.g. *omá sóksinim oμαχkāuyis* he suddenly saw a big lodge, *itámsoksinisiin omi kétoki* then the prairie-chicken suddenly fell, *áistamsokitotāupiu omām sínopau* then there will suddenly be a kit-fox (in the trap).

*sotam-* (*stam-*, *tam-*) then, after a while, just now, just, e.g. *sotámotapòtsiu* then he came home with the meat, *stámitskitau* then he was left, *nisótamskótaykaii* then I turned back home; *nisótāmst, aχksipumáuos* I think just now that we (incl.) should go on high; (*ni*) *tákstamiksista-panistapo* now I shall go to an unknown place, *támitaupiu* then he stayed there, *támiksistsipaskau* then after a while they (sing.) had done dancing, *támanikit* tell me later on, *támistapāakit* now get away from me.

*tatsik-* (*tatsik-*) in the middle (cf. § 115), e.g. *autamákixtátsi-kaiksistsikò* it was nearly noon (it was going to be the middle of the day), (*ni*) *táiksiststatsikyoyisinan* when we (excl.) were through dinner (when we had done eating in the middle).

#### § 117. Prefixes denoting manner.

The prefixes enumerated in this paragraph generally correspond to our



adverbs of manner, though in some cases they have rather a predicative function. It would be easy to augment the present list, which has some items in common with that of prefixed adjectives given in § 26.

*a i n a k - little by little* (*i n a k - little* provided with the durative-iterative prefix *a i -*), e.g. *mátoχtaináksoyiua* *he ate of (it) also little by little*, *ki áikakoχtaináksoyiua* *and he was just eating of (them) little by little*.

*a χ s - good, well, all right*, e.g. *nitákàua otsistotóχsists áχsapistòtsitau* *take good care of my partner's clothes*, *áχsauáuaksisàt* *run well*, *itákaysimiau* *then they had a good laugh at her*, *máχkaysapauauaykàni* *that he might go about all right*.

*a p o k a p - (a p o k a p -) reversed, reversedly*, e.g. *otokápitapisin ixtapókapiñixkatau* *because of his being a bad person, he was called the reverse of it*; *otápokapinixkakoaii* *they were called reversedly by (the people 4 p.)*. Cf. *apókapiitapiu* *he is a person with whom everything is reversed*.

*a u k - (o k -) bad, badly*, e.g. *kitáuksistotóki* *you treat me badly*, *áuksistotòainai* *he (4 p.) is treated badly*, *nitáitsiniomòkskiakàk* *he is making very bad faces down on me*.

*i k a k i - wise, wisely*, e.g. *nitsíkakyanistau* *I advise him (I tell him wisely)*, *ikakyánistaypi* *what she had been told wisely*.

*i k a n - exactly*, e.g. *itsikánixkoyiu* (*itsekánixkoyiu*) *she hit (my finger) exactly*, *ikámitsikanyòtoaykiaie* *if somebody catches the ball (takes it exactly)*.

*i k a m - quickly, fast*, e.g. *ikamánistotsit* (*ikamánistotsit*) *do it quickly*, *nitáksikamopaki* *I shall move my lodge quickly*, *iksikamipiksiau* *they ran off very fast*, *itsikaminoyinai* *then she (4 p.) quickly saw him*. Cf. *ikamó* *he is fast*. About *i k a m -* as a modal prefix see § 81 (at the end), § 87, and § 88.

*i k a m - straight*, e.g. *sistsiu ikámotsistapauaniu* *the bird is flying straight away*, *niétaytai ikámotsikimskau* *the river is flowing straight*.

*i k i n - (k i n -) softly, gently, slowly, easily*, e.g. *átsikikinautamiòχkiàkiu* *then he again very gently threw his head up over the hill*, *áikinautamišàmiuaie* *he gently looked over the hill at him*, *ikinépuyit* *talk slowly*, *kináutamisò* *he went slowly up*, *ki itsikinaipuaua* *and then he got up slowly*, *ikináikàinimiàu* *they opened it easily*.

*i k s i k - cleanly, exactly*, e.g. *nitsiksikaisàχpii oápspsiks* *his eyes fell cleanly out (on the tree)*, *istsiksikaisapaykumèniki omi maksini* *if you hit exactly in the same wound*.

*i n - long*, e.g. *itsinnapistotsimma* *then he made it long*.

*i n o - long*, e.g. *áinoχkotòmaists* (*ánnoχkotòmaists*) *he put them (in.) in a long row*. Cf. *skátamanistapinauminiaiks* *then their wings were growing long*. For *i n o -* as a temporal prefix see § 116.

*i s t s i k - wrongly, amiss*, e.g. *itsistsikskàinai* *then he (4 p.) made a mis-cut*, *itsistsiksikskimàie* *then he made a mis-step*.

itam- *happy*, e.g. itâmaukoyiu *he was happy having eaten his fill*, âitâmauauaxkâiiau *they went happy about*.

kixkixt- (-ixkixt-) *sporadically, now and then, in different places*, e.g. itsikixkixtaukunâiiu amó Pekániaua *this Peigan tribe camped in different places*, áikixkixtòpiu *(the war-party) would sit down now and then*, akoxtsixkixtsiksísau *(the buffalo) were running far here and there*. This prefix belongs partly to those treated in § 115, partly to those registered in § 116.

kimmat- *to be pitied, poor, poorly*, e.g. nitâinauâikimmatsistotok *he has made me poor for ever*, kitâiiksikimmatsistotoau *you have done very poorly to them (sing.)*.

kip- *falsely, feigning, by accident*, e.g. támikipaniu *then he falsely said*, itsikipaiinixkasiaks *they then were feigning as if they were dead*, kâxkipaxtoxpuaui *I might shoot you by accident*. Cf. § 116.

ksimmat- (ksimat-) *happy*, e.g. ótsiksimotoxkôsau *because they were happy to get something to eat*, kâksimmatsinoaii *I am very happy to see them (properly: they are very happily seen)*.

mi- (-i-) *hard, strong*, e.g. ótâsiks mísiaiks, minipitsiaui *their horses were of hard endurance, they could stand much cold (properly: they were hard, being cold)*, miauânsakit *cook them hard*, miinnis *hold her fast (hard)*. In cases as ixtâiipstsikoyiau *therefrom they held their colts hard inside (their bodies)* the prefix -i- has been absorbed by the preceding prefix ai-.

minok- (-inok-) *happy*, e.g. nitsinokâupiau *they all sat happy*, itsinóksoyiau *then they ate with delight*.

mokaki- (-okaki-) *wise, wisely*, e.g. itokâkianistsuaie *he then told her wisely*, nitâukakiistotoau *I make him wise*. Cf. mokâkiu, âukakiu *he is wise*.

mokam- (-okam-) *straight*, e.g. mokâmotstsui *it is straight*, nitsikôkamoto *I went quite straight*, stókamotspoxpiis *if (the ball) goes straight up (in the air)*, âukamipâpiksistaiau *(the bulls) were put straight up*. Cf. otsitapokamoxpi *where she went straight*.

natoi- (-atoi-) *holy, with medicine-power*, e.g. âuatoiiinaînai *he (4 p.) was singing a medicine-song*, nitâtoiistotsixp *I make it holy*. Cf. natôsiu (an.), natoyiu (in.) *has medicine-power*.

nit- (-it-) *the same*, see § 54 and cf. § 119.

nit- (-it-) *really*, e.g. nitsapiaui *they really saw*, nitokêkaup *we (incl.) have really camped*, nitsókau *he is really asleep*, kâxkitsâpixpuaui *did you (pl.) really see?* Cf. § 119.

nitap- (-itap-) *the same*, see § 119.

nitap- (-itap-) *really*, e.g. nitâpouâpoxsiaui *(the horses) were really fat*, itsitapiókau *then he slept really*, âitapsuiinisi *when it was real warm weather*. Cf. § 119.

nito- (-nitui-) *the same*, see § 54 and cf. § 119.

*nožkets- (-ožkets-)* differently, separately, e.g. *nožketsitotoiau* at last (properly: separately) came there the rabbits, *nožkėsipuyiau* they stood separately, *áožketsinausiu* he was changing his appearance (he made his appearance different). Cf. § 53.

*omažk-* big, all, whole, e.g. *átomažksisóaiu* they were also fed a big meal, *ni(t)stsáuómažkožpotaii* with the last big snow (literally: when it snows big the last time), *támomažkatskožpatsimaie* then she made it all into one roll, *áumažkainispàixtsiu* the whole camp is quiet.

*-omianist-* different, e.g. *támomyanistàinimiâu* then they cut it to different pieces. Cf. *kanáuomianistsinàtsiai* they (in.) were all of different colours.

*pazk-* bad, e.g. *pažksimóists* things that smell bad, *omá pažkãžsinikai* a bad death may she die.

*pažt-* (*paiažt-*) wrong, wrongly, by mistake, by accident, e.g. *kikáipažtsàni* you have said wrong, *mátsitsipažtsistotòžsiu* then he had made again a mistake for himself, *pážtoyiaie* he shot him by accident.

*pap-* (*papai-*, *papau-*) in a dream, dreaming, e.g. *itsipápaiñóyiu* then he saw him in a dream, *áipápaukau* he is dreaming (he dream-sleeps). Also used for happily, e.g. *nitsitsipapaupaskòkinai* I was happily chased by (the rock).

*peksi-* wonderful, e.g. *áipeksikažtsiau* they had a wonderful game, *nitáinixkataiâu* áipèksiksisatài they were called "the wonderful hidiers".

*sap-* completely, e.g. *sapanistsitsinàiniki* if you catch him right (if you complete catching him), *sáisapannistsiiks* (*sáisapanistsiiks*) they did not do it completely, *mátaisapistotsímatsaie* he could not fix it all right (completely).

*sikap-* dirty, e.g. *kitáksikàpistotok* he will make you dirty.

*simi-* secretly, on the sly, e.g. *otsisimýánik* he was secretly told by him (4 p.), *piñisimiistapokskasit* do not run away secretly, *tamitaiisimiksisatsiua(u)* then she was secretly jealous of her, *Tséma aisimióyiu* Jimmy chews on the sly.

*sok-* (*sauk-*) straight, e.g. *nisótamsaukamito* I then went straight on up the river, *itsáuokokskàsiu* then she ran straight on.

*sok-* (*sožk-*) aloud, e.g. *itámsokaisaitamiu* it was then breathing aloud, *itsóžkáuasainiu* he then wept aloud, *kimáumaisožkanisks* why do you say so very loud?

*sok-* (*isok-*) heavy, e.g. *isoksistsisàu* if (the mares) had a heavy load, *miókàsiu* *ninau* *ikáisokspinakiu* a strong man can lift a heavy weight.

*sokap-* good, well, e.g. *sokápiitaysaie* that he may skin (the white buffalo-calf) well, *áipstsokapistotsixp* (the lodge) was fixed up well inside, *áitsokàpskotunnimiàuaists* then they threw loose earth in good shape.

*stunnat-* dangerous, e.g. *kitákstunnatsistotòk* he will do some dangerous thing to you.

## § 118. Prefixes denoting degree of intensity

Here the following prefixes, some of which have been mentioned already in § 28, must find a place:

*a mai-* (-o mai-, -a u mai-), *a m-* (-o m- -a u m-) *exceedingly, most intensely, very much*, e.g. *stamátamaiiksaiitsimau* then she denied it again most intensely, *kitómaiķimmokixpuau* you (pl.) have pitied me very much, *áumaiistsistototsinikiauauks* when they bother them too much (exceedingly), *itáikipaitapàumomaykauaie* then, feigning, he ran very fast towards him. With loss of the initial vowel: *máikimmiaie* he pitied him very much, *máikāxkistotókii* they make us very much ashamed. Reduplicated: *māumaitapimui* (mómaitapimui) it smells very much as if there were a person (as if there were people), *māumaisamipōpiiks* they are sitting up very late.

*ik-* (*iik-*) *very much*, e.g. *nitsiksikop* I am very much afraid, *nótàsinaniks nitsiikitokakixpināni* that we (excl.) took very good care of our (excl.) horses. To *ik-* belongs *kai-* (from *ik-ai-*), e.g. *káiksimatsinoaii* I am very glad to see them (literally: they are very gladly seen), *kāistotsinam annāxk nitsitsksinimaypa* he looks very like that one I know (my wife has connections with), *itskaipuināxkuminai* he (4 p.) then was neighing very hard (was suffering very much with neighing), *otskáikimisi* that he (4 p.) had treated him very well (notice the assibilation in some of these examples, caused by the *i* of *ik-ai-*, before it disappeared). Rarely we find *k-* (from *ik-*), except in the combination with *ai-* mentioned above, e.g. *axkskáunotsiau* they must be awfully hungry. A reduplicated form of *ik-* is *iksk-* (*iksk-ai-*) from *iks-ik-*, e.g. *ikskāumaitau* there is awfully much rain.

*a nat-* *a little*, e.g. *anatsáixtsiu* it was sticking out a little, *ixtauánatsoyiauaie* they ate a little from it, *āxkanāxtapauánatsistsinomoyiuauks* he cut a small piece of them (i.e. of the scalps) for each, *ākaxytoanatsaixketaykauauks* he went out to get a little of the meat (of the skinned cows) to cook it, *kákoxtanatsāuyixtsiu* he lay with only his mouth sticking out a little.

*ipistsik-* (*ipstsik-*) *a little, scarcely*, e.g. *nisótamipistsikitāupi* then I stayed there a little, *āksipstsikapauākuaie* she would hit (the tree) lightly, *oápsp āipstsikasapīnai* he (4 p.) looked a little out of one of his eyes, *āipstsikixsoyiu* (the hide) had become a little dry, *āipstsikānoau* (a small star) is scarcely seen, *nitāipstsiksipaupauāuayk* I walk around a little, *āipstsikaisāmspikāii istoāiks* the knives would be rubbed a little.

*pāxtsik-* *a little, just a little, for a while, by little and little*, e.g. *pāxtsikāxkōmaykō* it was a little bigger, *pāxtsikāxkakiskiminai* she (4 p.) touched it just a little, *ómamauk pāxtsikaitapiu* there he is hardly living (living only a little), *pāxtsikāxkokinisāu* all of them got off (their horses) for a while, *pāxtsikaminakātsiau* by little and little they rolled (the gambling-wheel) eastward.

## § 119. Other modifying prefixes.

Though the prefix *nit-* (*-it-*) one and its derivatives *nitap-* (*-itap-*) and *nito-* (*nitui-*) had to be mentioned in different places of this grammar, it will be useful to open this supplementary paragraph with a general survey of their various meanings as verbal prefixes.

*nit-* (*-it-*) one, e.g. *nitōḡkēmiu* he had one wife, *nitsītānistis* I did it once (one time).

*nit-* (*-it-*, *-nit-*) alone, e.g. *nitāḡtāuyiauaists* they alone ate of (those pieces), *annōḡk ḡskḡsaisitāupop* now we (incl.) are always living here alone, *āistamitsitapaukunaiixk* he then camped about alone, *kinitauto* you came alone.

*nit-* (*-it-*) only, e.g. *nitsisoyisoau* he is fed with only four things; *āitsauaipaskaii* they were the only ones that did not dance, *imakētokuyitoḡ-kōnimāsau notokāni* if they find only one hair of my head (*-et- = -it-*).

*nit-* (*-it-*, *-nit-*) the same, alike, e.g. *nitūyi nitāixtsau* she is laid down in just the same way, *ākēks itāitotuisapināusiau otōkamatsimoāuaiks* the women dressed just the same as their lovers, *kinētoḡkanistoḡkot kixtsipimiuaḡk* I give you just the same a striped one (*-net- = -nit-*).

*nit-* at the same time, e.g. *nitōḡpiksistaxkūmiaue* he shot at the same time with him.

*nit-* (*-it-*) really, e.g. *nitokēkaup* we (incl.) have really camped, *nitsōkau* he is really asleep, *kāḡkitsāpixpuaua* did you (pl.) really see?

*nit-* (*-it-*) all, e.g. *nitāikimatskiōpiaui* they are all sitting with pitiful faces, *(ni)tōtaumaḡkaii* they all ran by (her), *āitsitsōyāḡsiu* all of them yelled.

In many cases *nit-* seems to have an emphasizing force. Initial *nit-*, as we have stated before, is changed in the imperative, conjunctive, and subjunctive to *nist-*.

The semantic development of *nitap-* is quite parallel to that of *nit-*.

*nitap-* (*-itap-*, *-nitap-*) alone, e.g. *nitsitapaiiksikai* (*ninitapaiiksikai*) I am walking alone.

*nitap-* (*-itap-*) only, e.g. *ki āitsitapainauāsiu* and he became the only chief.

*nitap-* the same, alike, e.g. *nitapāutsimiāuaists nitāpstautsixpiaists* they were just picking them (in.) up in the same places where they (in.) were stuck.

*nitap-* at the same time, e.g. *ki nitapāipoḡpāipiaui* and they jumped up at the same time.

*nitap-* (*-itap-*) really, e.g. *nitapāipuyinitsiua* it began to burn really, *ki itsitapokskāsiua* and then he ran really (with all his might).

Initial *nitap-* is changed in the imperative, conjunctive, and subjunctive to *nistap-*.

As to *nito-* (*nitui-*), I only know it in the sense of the same, alike and in that of all: *ānni nitoāpiksimāists* in this same way they threw

them (in.), *nítoaímo it smells alike, kinetumoxkáuayàkixpuai* (kinitomâxk-áuayàkixpuai) *that you (pl.) are all with bloody mouths.*

The other prefixes to be registered in this paragraph will be given in alphabetical order.

*a mo -* (-o mo -, a u mo -) *together*, e.g. *omiksi ú'siks áumoiskapàtsiu* *he pulled his elder brothers together*, *itáumtoaipiksim* *then he gathered (the buffalo-chips)*, *nâxkotomoàipiksisstays* *that I should gather up (these pieces of back-fat)*. Cf. *itomúo* *then (the people) came together.*

*i ma k -* *even*, e.g. *imakâysisi maiâii* *even if his robe was very good*, *imakâioxtoàiniki* *even if you hear (people)*, *imâkstatàinik* *even if you think regarding him*, *imaksinokapis* *even if it was a happy time*. Cf. *imaksina-koxtsi* (-kâxtsi) *âtsinaiiu* *even a small piece of fat*, *imaksinakstsimiks* *anistâtsokinakii* *even the young ones doctored.*

*-i pa u -* *back*, e.g. *nitâksipauotoainai* *I will take his robe back.*

*ka k -* *just, only*, e.g. *kâksistomiu* *he was just naked (he just had a body)*, *kaáuui kaksâixtsis* *that you are sticking out with your mouth only*, *âikakauoyiu* *(the people) only ate*, *âikaksinisâu* *he only got off (his horse).*

*ka t -* *therefore, that is why*, see § 88.

*ksist -* (kaiist-) *for nothing, at random*, e.g. *nitsiksistoxtauaiakiok* *ôxkotokiists* *he is throwing stones at me for nothing*, *stâmiksistâxtauâuax-kau* *then he wandered along at random.*

*ksistap -* (kaiistap-) *for nothing, at random, falsely, etcet.*, e.g. *otómitâm kaiistâpstsipisuaie* *he is whipping his dog for nothing*, *mâu-kaiksistâpanistsuaie* *why does he tell him something false?*, *itauâkaiksistapitsinikii* *then they tell many false coups*, *nitâkstamiksisstapanistapo* *then I shall go to an unknown place*. Cf. *nitâksistapo* *I go at random.*

*ksistui -* (kaiistui-) *for nothing, at random*, e.g. *itsiksistuitapastô* *then he beckoned at random*, *ponokâmitaua kaiistuitapuyiu* *the horse is standing without use*, *kaiistuitauâniua* *he was saying to himself (properly: at random).*

*manik -* (-anik-, anik-) <sup>4</sup> *refers to size and age*, e.g. *manikox-kimixpiaú* *(the calves were known) what size they were*, *otsikanikoxksipi stâmatškânikoxksim* *then he was again of the size he had been before*. I do not remember to have met with it as a true prefix, though I am sure, it must occur as such.

*manist -* (-anist-, anist-) *according to*, see § 88.

*manistap -* (-anistap-, anistap-) *according to*, see § 88.

*mat -* *going (in imperatives)*, e.g. *matânistsis* *go and tell him*, *matâpsa-mok* *go and look out (pl.) for him*, *matótos* *go and take him*, *matótakos* *go and give him a drink.*

*mât -* (ât-) *also, too*, e.g. *mâtsitoxkanitâutaipiu* *all the people also ran up to him*, *mâtótsiminai* *he (4 p.) took it also*, *mâtaisaiiin* *he (4 p.) too went stretching*, *kénmaie, nimâtoxksksinoau* *and that is what I know about him too*, *kimâtoxkot* *I give you (them) also*, *âtoxkotsuaie* *he gave it him also*, *akatsinikii* *she will kill us (incl.) also*. The same prefix may

often be rendered by *another* (see § 53) and by *again* (see § 116).

*matui-* going (in imperatives), e.g. *matúisamis go and see him.*

*mauk-* (*mau-*) *why*, see § 88.

*misk-* *instead, notwithstanding, all the same, in spite*, e.g. *misksox-kótsuiaie he gives it to him instead*, *nimisksoxpùmmatop I bought it instead*, *miskkótsit take it instead*, *miskkitsinisokotàixk all the same she then spat down at him*, *miskkúmaikótsisiu he smoked harder in spite*.

*misk-* (*-isk-*) *instead, notwithstanding, all the same, in spite*, e.g. *miskótsáksist you had better go out again instead (of staying here)*, *áiskoxtaxkòyiu (-oxkòyiu) he was getting food from (her) instead*, *sotámiskitákauipiáiu then instead (of running off) they sat down*, *miskáistamopakiau then they moved notwithstanding (the cold)*, *miskstamamiäpiksat-suiaie then he jumped at him in spite (of his shooting)*.

*nam-* (*-am-*) *just, only*, e.g. *námipaupiinaí she (4 p.) only sat up*, *námapikauaniäiks they just shook their legs*, *maiäií támiamaxsin her robe then was just fine*, *áiamitapàumaykaii they just ran loose about*, *äxkanäi-amotòiau they all just came home (without having anything)*, *nitsitamits-tsixpinaí kaytominaíks we (excl.) are the only war-chiefs still in life*.

*nat-* *just, only*, e.g. *nátsakoiikokitsiminai hē (4 p.) was just frozen with spittle on his mouth*, *(ni)nátōxkozkiskatai I just had them (an.) for a pillow*, *ninátasau I am just wiping him*, *kinátsikim I just pity you*, *(ni)nátōxtanists therefore I am just doing it*.

*noxk-* (*-oxk-*) *to be sure, etcet.*, see § 88.

*noxkoi-* (*-oxkoi-*) *to be sure, etcet.*, see § 88

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### Independent adverbs, conjunctions, particles.

§ 120. The localizers in *-χt* (*-oχt*) and *-χtsi* (*-oχtsi*).

Though local and temporal relations are ordinarily expressed by means of prefixes, by the side of them we find independent localizers, usually of the same verbal origin as the prefixes themselves. They are formed by means of the suffix *-χt* or *-χtsi*, practically always preceded by the vowel *o*. In fact, the only localizers in *-χt* (*-χtsi*) I know of, that do not contain that preceding *o*, are *tátsikayt(a)*, *tátsikaytsi* *in the middle* (as prefix *tátsik-*), and *(i)stáχt*, *(i)stáχtsi* *under the surface, under the water* (as prefix *istáχt-*, *stáχt-*).

The localizers are often extended by demonstrative suffixes (cf. § 32), so that, e.g., by the side of *apatóχt*, *apatóχtsi* *behind, back, long ago* there are extended forms *apatóχtak*, *apatóχtsik*, *apatóχtsim*.

According to circumstances, the localizers must be rendered by adverbs, adjectives, or prepositions.

There are too many of them to give a full list of these localizers, and therefore I shall confine myself to some examples, giving them in the fuller form in *-χtsi*: *akimóχtsi* *at the upper end of the lodge*; *amitoχtsi* *higher up the river*; *apámóχtsi* *across, on the other side*; *ipotóχtsi* *near the door, at the lower end*; *isóχtsi* *ahead, in front, in the future*; *isoóχtsi* *near the edge of the water or fire*; *itskóχtsi* *on the prairie*; *ksikskoχtsi* *on one side*; *mistapoχtsi* *farther away, beyond*; *oxsóχtsi* *behind*; *otakóχtsi* *around*; *otsátóχtsi* *near, close by*; *pinápoχtsi* *down the river*; *póχsapoχtsi* *hither, since that time*; *saiáinisóχtsi* *low down, below, in the lower country*; *sitokóχtsi* *in the middle*; *(i)skóχtsi* *behind*; *spóχtsi* *on high*; *tápóχtsi* *on the other side, over on that side, etcet. etcet.*

Now I shall give examples of the forms in *-χt* (without assibilation) and their use in the sentence:

*â, ômi ipotóχt oxsisinsai* *yes, over there near the door are hoofs.*

*amó iskóχt natósiu áiokskàuniu* *it was the third day of this last month.*

*ámoksi niuókskamiks tátsikayta, ánnistai inákstsim áipstsikàinoau* *by the side of the middle one of these three, is a small (star) scarcely to be seen.*

*apatóχtak ánnakaie istúnnatàpsii stááiks* *it was in the olden times, that the ghosts were very dangerous.*

*amó. ákauχta itáukunáiiu* *these ancient people were camped.*

*ki omák ákauχtak tápoauatotsiu* *and the ancient people were moving about.*



omák ákauxták kiniks kapséks otóksksèiks mátaɣkimist áuatsiuaie *long ago the ancient people used to eat rose-berries, hard-seed-berries, bark, black alcali.*

amói saāxtai (sauóxtai) *the people outside.*

satóxtai nitsítsinikok *the people on the other side of the mountains told me about it.*

otáuoki, omám aɣkyápoxtám àkéuam nitáksitsipsatsimatau *when we (incl.) get back home, I will talk from myself to a woman over there at home.*

spóxtm nápiekoān, spúmmokit *Old Man on high, help me.*

niksokoa spóxtɣk nitáinok (nitáinauk) *my kindred above sees me.*

ki omá apámoxt noɣkétsitapiua áitsitsòyāɣsiu *and on the other side the enemies all yelled.*

ámomaie itaukúnaiiu apámoxtauk *here on the other side of the river he is camping.*

In some of the sentences cited above the localizers are used in a temporal sense (cf. also farther below). As to ákauxta, ákauxták, which is derived from a k - *already, former, ancient* (see § 26 and § 90) and is exclusively temporal, the name "localizer" is inappropriate, but I have treated it here, because morphologically it belongs to the same type.

Examples of the use of the forms in -tsi (-ts):

itámsòksinim amóm ómaɣksíkimiim tátsikayts anni ómaɣkasiksinàtsiu, otspitsis *then he saw that there was a big black thing in the middle of this lake, that rose high up.*

ómim tátsikaytsim ixkyáiekokàupim *over there in the centre is a bear-painted lodge.*

akóxtsi páuaykuyi áutskúinatsi *yonder the mountain-ridge looks blue.*  
ákai-Pekàniaua omík akóxtsi apátoɣsoxtsi ánnyaie otáuaysin *the country of the ancient Peigans was long ago very far north.*

ki akoxtsi ixtápsisapoksaixtsiua oɣkátsi *and his leg went clear through (the tree) far out on the other side.*

akóxtsik nimoxtsistapitapiixpinaniks *our (excl.) ancestors from long times ago.*

aitótoèniki amó isoóxtsi *when you arrive at the shore.*

isóoxtsima omíma niétaytaii *near the bank of that river.*

omí spóxts itóto *he came there on high.*

kitáksinixp spóxtsim soksistsíkuyi *you will see a cloud in the skies.*

spóxtsim istoɣkanáitapiua niksokoa *all the people on high are my kindred.*  
ákainim, spóxtsimaie úskitsipāxpinaí omí A'isinokòpi *he had seen, there high up was the heart of the Inhaler.*

omím akimóxtsim itomóitsiin omím omaɣkástseksinàinai *that very big snake (4 p.) lay coiled up in the upper part.*

píoo itskóxtsi otsítatauàkimayp *it was far away on the prairie, where they chased the buffalo.*

isátsit annóm pistóxts ki sauāxts *look here on the inside and the outside.*

sauāxtsi itámisaukoxtotaninaii then she (4 p.) suddenly said from outside.  
stsikiks saāxtsim (sauāxtsim) ákitsipōtaiu some of them were going to  
make a fire outside.

ōmik pināpoxtsik Kyáiesisaytaii far down on Maria's river (Bear-creek).  
otsistamíkisisinā itauáuakoāu Katoyisiks sitokóxtsik we (incl.) would  
chase the bulls between the Small Sweetgrass hills.

istoāi mínoxtsik a knife at the end.

omí omí apatóxtsikāukinai her husband was coming behind.

oxkói paɣtsikápatóxtsikāukin her son was just a little behind.

itsiī apatóxtsik áuaxsoāiks there were in the olden times people who  
took their wives by force.

ānnika pōxsapóxtsik ānni nitsinixkataiau Nináisaiāi since that time they  
were all called Goose-chiefs.

isoxtsik kitāiākoxtkoaitsixp in the future (ahead) you will get profit  
by it.

isoxtsik omí otoxkéman mátsāpsis if, in the future, his wife was foolish.  
nimátstaxpa, isoxtsik áksikixkinnāpi I did not think that it would be  
lonesome in the future.

Sometimes localizers are pluralized:

mínoxtk(χ)tsiks okitsiks omá akéu ixtāinim omítsi otsóaxsists with her  
fingers' ends (properly: with her extreme fingers) that woman held the  
things she was eating.

ki omiksim skóxtsikš itsipúauyi and those that were behind rose up.

ki omiksim nātokami ipotóxtsikš ānniksimaie kyáiekakōiau and there  
were two in the lower part of the circle that were the Bear-Doves.

Examples of forms ending in -χtsk:

isoxtsk itsinimiauie, omíxk siksinaťsiu ahead of them they saw, there  
was something black.

amiskápoxtsk stámoxtōiau then they went along south.

amóχk kseuóχtsk (=ksiuóχtsk) stámitotoχpiu this time he sunk to the  
bottom.

āmoχk pināpoχtsk this way, lower down the river (are there more  
lodges).

tská noχkoxtápitapiskoa? otānikaiks : āmoχk amitoχtsk which way are  
there any people? he was told by them : this way, higher up the river.

Though for north and south we find normal localizers in -oχtsi (viz.  
apátōxoχtsi north and amiskápoχtsi south), Blackfoot uses for east and  
west words of a widely divergent type : námists eastward, east, on the  
eastside (as prefix nam-, -am- and namists-, -amists-);  
nimists westward, west, on the westside (as prefix nim-, -im-).  
Examples:

námists stámitsitskoχkitapiksixp (the text has: -apitsixp) then it was  
thrown east right on the prairie.

námistsk tápātsis go by him on the eastside.

nimistsi nitákoχto I shall go on the westside.

nimists ixtapipuyin (*the great many horses*) stood on the westside.  
 ákaitápiua akái-Pekàniua ikiómatapò nímistsk the ancient people, the  
 ancient Peigans, all went west.

nímistsk pinóxtápàtsis do not go by him on the westside.

### § 121. Pronominal adverbs.

As has been stated already in other parts of this grammar, the Blackfoot demonstrative, relative, and interrogative pronouns have a pronounced local character. Therefore there is nothing astonishing in the fact, that such pronouns, so far at least as they are inanimate, are also used as local adverbs. It stands to reason that some of them may indicate temporal and other relations too. It will be useful to give examples of these pronominal adverbs.

a m o *here*, and derivatives (cf. § 33 and § 42):

ámo stópit *stay here*.

ámo itsáupiu *she sits here outside*.

ámo saáxts matápiu nitsitsinoàu *I have seen a person right here outside (of the lodge)*.

itápstò : ámoka nimoxtoto *he made a sign : over that way I came*.

ámo(m) amitoxts *here higher up the river*.

ámoʔk amitoxtsk *this way higher up the river*.

tská mátoyiskò? ki ámoʔk *which way are there more lodges? and this way*.

amóʔk kseuóxtsk (ksiuóxtsk). stámitotoxpui *this time he sunk to the bottom*.

o m i *there*, and derivatives (cf. § 35 and § 43):

ómi istsóʔkopit *sit there in the door*.

ómi áisiksinatsiu *over there it looks black*.

ómi istsipuyit *stand over there*.

ki ómi akimóxts *and over there in the upper part of the lodge (you can sit down)*.

omím otótoʔs *when he came there*.

kitáikixp ómim? *what were you doing over there?*

omím otsitáupixp, mátseniuats *there where he stayed he did not die*.

itsinóyiua omím einiskiminai *she saw there was a buffalo-stone*.

annóʔk ómim nitákitapotokèkamau *I shall now camp over there [far away]*.

ómimaie anná koʔkóa otákau *over there is that one, your son's partner*.

omik mistsisinai itótskitau *there was a log, he was left there*.

omik manikâpi ápoksein, aitotóinai *there was a young man, that wore his robe inside out, he came to (her)*.

omiksi mátakeyi itsinóyiau omik einiinai *there were other women, they saw buffalo coming that way*.

matapinakui itsitástautsimaists omik, ómaʔtauàuaʔkaʔp (ómoʔt-) omiksi  
 saʔkúmapiks *next morning he stuck them along there, where those boys used to go*.

Aápaítapiks ixtsinixkataiau omik apatóžtsik, otsinaimoai otákometsimani otáuakimani ki opskáni *Blood-people they were called a long, long time ago, because their chief's pleasure was his chasing (the buffalo) and getting the blood* (in the expression omik apatóžtsik the adverb omik is used in a temporal sense).

napi, ómixk ážkunaxtápauáuaxkau (ážkunox-) ómim ómayksikimi *partner, let us (incl.) travel that way to that big lake.*

omíxk omíksi nisóitapiiks ómoztožpi *the way those four persons went.*

ixtsapó omíxk potótskuyi *she walked along that way on the road.*

áinoyuaie, omíxk otáuáuaxkaniaii *he saw her, the way she was walking.*

ki ómixkaie ixtapikauopinai, kénnixkaie ákâžtsipiksiau *and where there were not so many people (properly: and away from where there were so many of them), that way they ran away far.*

a n n o *here, right here, and derivatives (cf. § 37 and § 44):*

annó omá sažkúmapiu ixtsitsapomaykau *here that boy followed running.*

annó istáiāžkokik *wait (pl.) here for me.*

apinákus anáukožtsiksi annó ákitáupiau *to-morrow half of them will stay here.*

kipitákeks áno itauāžkanniau *old women lance right there (where the mouth is crooked).*

isátsit annóm pistóžts ki sauāžts *look here on the inside and the outside (of the lodge).*

annóm nimótsipitákeixpinan *here we (excl.) are all old women.*

annóm ákstamitskitau *now he will be left here.*

annóma kitáiksisisamitopi *you have been staying here a long time.*

ki ánnomà otsitokunāiixp áistamíakāupiu *and here where they were camped they would just stay.*

ánnomaie istožkožták *look (pl.) for wood right here.*

ánnomaie ažkúnatožtskáuop *let us (incl.) go back from here.*

áuke, ánnomaie ákožtomátomaykaup *now, from here we (incl.) shall start to run.*

About annožk and anstožk, which are only used in a temporal sense, see § 44 and § 122.

a n n i *there, right there, and derivatives (cf. § 38):*

ánni istsikitsixtsis *put it (an.) there aloft.*

ánni ani(t)sitáixtsis *let it (the spotted bird) lie there.*

ánni stáupik *sit (pl.) there.*

ánni ákaiťaupit *sit there for a moment.*

ánnim ánnixkaie ážkéu *there it is where is a lake (a water).*

ánnym stámsaixkinisò *right there he started with his head out (of the ice).*

ki ánnik (kénnik) kitsím, ážkstaiaiaipua *and there is the door, (may it be) that he does not see?*

ómik pinápožtsik Kyáiesisažtaii ánnikaie itáitapisamepumiú *far down on*

*Maria's river (Bear-creek), there they stayed till late in the spring (properly: there they lived a long time till in summer).*

nistôa ánnye kimátanistapspa you are not the same kind of being as I am.  
ánnyaie ákauánistotoai imáikimokaiks that way will be treated the lovers  
of the wives of other people.

ki ánnimauk áitokèkau and there they camped. (sing.).

For ánni as a strong affirmation see § 125.

t s i m á where (cf. § 48 and § 50):

tsimá kitsitokoixpa? (= tsimá kokóa?) where is your home?

tsimá kitsitoxkèmatoyx? where did I get you for a wife?

tsimá ákoxkitapauop? where shall we (incl.) go?

tsimá kikúmotaxpuau? where will you (pl.) escape?

tsimá kináxkitáxkákixpuau? where do you kill animals?

tsimá kináxkitapaiitapiixp? where are you roaming about?

tsimá noxkátoyisko? where are there more lodges?

tsimá kitsítsinitàua? where did you kill her?

tsimá kitsitoxkonòtaxp? where did you get something to skin?

tsimá kitsitosinaistsàua? where did you pick them (in.)?

tsimá itsisua ksáxkui? where does (that) earth belong?

stámitotòyiauaie, tsimá kipitákeinai then they came, where the old woman  
was (relative).

itoxkónoyiauaie, tsimáie sákiausatsinai apékoxkiniks he found her, where  
she (4 p.) was still picking rotten (literally: scabby) roseberries (relative  
verbalized).

ki ixtsitsapò omí natáioi, tsimáie itoxkitaixtsiinai omím mistákskiminai  
and he followed the bob-cat, where he was lying on a flat rock (relative  
verbalized).

About the dependent interrogative tsimáxtau where see § 51.

a n n á, á n n à t s, á n n à t s i k (s) where (cf. § 49):

anná kiksista? where is your mother?

anná niksístsinana? where is our- (excl.) mother?

itaníu : anná pokáuayk? he then said : where is the child?

aipísi, itauániu : anná saxkúmapiu? when he entered, he would ask :  
where is the boy?

anná annáxk nápiuayk? where is that old man?

ánnàtsik okakini, támsapokakinitoyiauaie where his back was, there then  
he shot him right in his back (relative).

A dependent interrogative derivate of anná is (an)náxtau:

náxtau nitáiksiskòtsimaua (I want to know) where he is I had bodily  
contact with.

t s k á which way (cf. § 48):

tská ixtóats? which way has he gone?

tská mátoyiskò? which way are there more lodges?

tská noxkoxtāpitapiskoa? which way are there any people?

t s a a how (cf. § 47 and § 48):

tsá kanistsinimàxp? *how did you catch (him)?*

tsá kanistápapaiàkstsimaɣpa? *how did you steer the ears of the lodge about?*

tsá kanistápitsinapauàuaɣkaɣpa apí'siks? *how did you come to travel about among the wolves?*

tsáá ákanistoɣkototoàuaiksaua? *how shall we (incl.) be able to get them (an.)?*

tsáa aitotóa ixtáiksistsikumiopi? (tsáa itotóats ixtáiksistsikumiopi?) *what o'clock is it?* An answer to this question might be, e.g.: *kepúyi áitotó ixtáiksistsikümüpi it is ten o'clock.*

About the dependent interrogatives tsáɣtau and tsiáɣtau see § 51.

## § 122. Temporal adverbs.

The reader will be acquainted already with the temporal use of some localizers (see § 120) and pronominal adverbs (see § 121). To this latter category belong *annoɣk now* and *anstoɣk just now* (cf. § 44). The use of *annoɣk* as a relative pronoun has been discussed in its proper place. So here I shall only exemplify its use as a temporal adverb (for *anstoɣk* I have but little material at my disposal). Expressions as *áññoɣk-ksistsikúixk to-day*, *ánnóɣk-kokuixk to-night*, etcet., are to be looked for in § 44, as in such *annoɣk* is a true relative pronoun, no adverb.

ki ánnóɣk (kénnoɣk) imáinixkáɣtoyiauaie amóksisk aiáɣkémiks *and now the owners of the beaver-rolls still sing to her.*

ki ánnóɣk anáukoɣt áɣkumitopamapaitapiu ákai-Pekáni *and now half of the ancient Peigans is living about across (the big water).*

ánnóɣk sámít *now (go and) hunt.*

ánnóɣk kitákáɣkáɣkuipisiixpuau *now you (pl.) will get something for your visit.*

ánnóɣk matsipáskáu, autsítskixpièni, nitákaisekakiàpiks *now when we (incl.) dance again, when I dance by, I shall kick up.*

itanístisuaie: ánnóɣk kitáiksistsinixkako *he said to him: now you have got a name.*

ánnóɣk nitáksistsòatau amóɣk einuayk *now henceforward I shall eat these buffalo.*

ánnóɣk koküs áksepiàuaɣkaup *this night we (incl.) shall travel on during the night.*

ánnóɣkaie nitókska aiáksipaskâu *now it is, they will have one dance more.*

matoɣtáuaiakyokèni, ki ánnóɣkaie (kénnoɣkaie) kimátakatsinoainokixpa *if you hit me again with (it), then this time you shall not see me anymore.*

ki ánnóɣkauk (kénnoɣkauk) ikaiks kátakauoyi áɣkémnixksistsi *and that is why the medicine-lodge-makers still now have many beaver-roll-songs.*

In many cases Blackfoot uses conjunctive-forms as temporal adverbs, e.g.: *koküsi during the night (when it is night)*, *ksistsiküsi during the day*

(when it is day), ksiskaniáutunisi *early in the morning* (when it is early in the morning), apinákus *to-morrow* (when it is morning), sauumáiso-puyinakus *before daylight* (before it dawns), autáküsi *in the evening* (when it is evening), motüsi (autüsi) *in spring* (when it is spring), népüsi (áipüsi) *in summer* (when it is summer), moküsi (áuküsi) *in the fall* (when it is autumn), stüyisi (istuyisi) *in winter* (when it is winter).

Some other temporal adverbs: matünni *yesterday*, ksiskaniáutunii *early in the morning* (cf. above the conjunctive ksiskaniáutunisi), apinako *in the morning* (cf. above the conjunctive apinákus). As to apinako it is clear, that we have to do with an ordinary verb (*it is morning*), of the same kind as áutáko *it is evening*, áikókò *it is night*; etcet.

For the interrogative *when?* (in the future) they use the conjunctive tsánistsis, for *when?* (in the past) the non-repressional form tsánistsi.

### § 123. Adverbs of manner.

Pronominal adverbs of manner have been mentioned in § 121 (ánni, tsá). Some other independent adverbs of manner are noḡkëtsi(m) or mätóḡkëtsi(m) *differently* (cf. § 53); nitúyi *the same, alike* (cf. § 54), páḡtsapi *by accident*, kipanistsi *in a hurry* (cf. áikipanistsiu *he is in a hurry*).

### § 124. Conjunctions.

The most important, if not the only, independent conjunction of Blackfoot is *ki and*. This particle often combines with the first vowel of the next word, e.g. *ki ánni and that* becomes *kyánni*, and even *kénni*; *ki itaniú and then he said* becomes *kitaníu*. In de Josselin de Jong's texts *ki* is rarely treated as an independent word.

As I have mentioned already in § 50, the interrogative and relative pronoun *taká who* is also used as a conjunction with the meaning *because*. This use is most remarkable indeed, since *taká* is animate. Examples:

káuaskimàiau, *taká istuyíua they drove their horses on foot because it was cold.*

itáinokàiau, *taká imikóaie they began to clear the snow, which was deep* (or, perhaps better: *because it was deep*).

### § 125. Affirmative and negative particles.

For *yes* Blackfoot uses the particle *á* (often nasalized). Examples:

*ki átsepu itanistsiuais: kitómaikimmokixpuau; áḡkunāḡkitapàuop nínna. Stámaniaiks: A' and next summer he said to them: you (pl.) have taken pity on me; let us (incl.) go to my father. Then they said: yes.*

*ánistsiuais: kitákomimàua Mékyäksíua. Otánikaie: A' he said: you loved Red-scar. He was told by her: yes.*

*annóḡk sámít. A', nitáksam now (go and) hunt. Yes, I shall hunt.*

*kípátsámít, annāḡk kitsíxkauàuaḡk tsínikit ... A', nitákoḡtseniki nitsíx-*

kauau go soon and hunt again, kill some one of your tribe ... Yes, I shall kill some one of my tribe.

omí kipitáke otánik: ákaisamomatöyinaí. A'nistsiuaié: á, ákaisamomatò he was told by that old woman: it is a long time that he (4 p.) started. He said to her: yes, it is a long time that he started.

á, kitaiáksikixpa? yes, what are you going to do?

omá ninau stámaniu: ákopakiop. Mátaksinitaua omá pokáu. Annóm ákstamitskitau, máxtstuyisop. A', ánnamauk stámitskitau then that man said: we (incl.) shall move. That child will not be killed. He will be left here, we (incl.) are ashamed of (him). Yes, there he was left.

A strong affirmation is kitséman you are right, e.g.:

kitáni: ázsauáuaksisát, nitákitòm. A'niixk omá akéu: á, kitséman you said: run well, I shall marry (you). That woman said: Yes, you are right.

ánistsiuaié: ámauk. Otánikaie: kitséman he said to him: here he is. He was told by him: you are right.

ánistsiuaié: isatópokit, kitokósím. Otánikaie: kitséman he said to him: taste me, you are my child. He was told by him: you are right.

ánnixkaie nímoxtokòs. Otskúskiua ánistsiuaié: kitséman from that I had a child. Blue-face said to her: you are right.

Examples of other forms of the same verb:

á, émaníua, nitáakeua yes, she is right, she is a real woman (ironically).

amánnisi, omí otoykéman kámosin manikâpi if he was right, that his wife was stealing a young man.

Nor is ánni just so a true particle (cf. § 38 and § 121).

The Blackfoot word for no is s á :

ánni ani(t)sitáixtsis. A'nistsiuaié: sá, nitákotoau let it (the bird) lie there. He said to him: no, I shall take it (an.).

sá, nimátaksimatöxpats no, I shall not drink it (refusing an offered drink).

axkitoxpöksotsikaup. Sá, nitáuno let us (incl.) slide together. No, I am in a hurry.

sá, nimátotxsisikixpa ninauyists, nitsípitaipokâi no, I do not care for men's-lodges, I am an old-woman's child.

nitáksikskimatâin. Otánik otákâi: sá, kinnuna ixtaníkíuaie I shall shoot it. He was told by his partner: no, our (incl.) father forbade us (incl.).

omá akéua ánistsiu om: nitáksinitsokótatau. Otánikaie: sá, pinsókotatsis that woman said to her husband: I shall spit down on him. She was told by him: No, do not spit at him.

miskátsäksist. A'nistsiuaié: sá, nimátaksaksp you had better go out. He said to them: no, I shall not go out.

itanistsiu Mekyâpi: nitsiksikop, nóma nitáksinik. Itanistsiuaié: sá, kimá-taksikixtokats she then said to Red-man: I fear very much, my husband will kill me. He then said to her: no, he will not do you any harm.

sá, mátsitapiskò no, there is no person about.

otánikaie: kitáikixp ómim? kimáumaisamitapinakuyi(s)ks? A'nistsiuaié:



sá, nitsipiâpi he was told by him: what were you doing over there? why were you seen about during such a long time? He said to him: no, (I was not doing anything wrong), I fell down.

otânik omi Ksiskstakipokâi omá O'maykskimipokâua: ómakauk annâkka nínauâk. Otânikaie: sá, pikoꝯksiksim *Big-rock-child* was told by *Beaver-child*: there he is, who is that man. (I told you of). He was told by him: no, it is a rotten log.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### Interjections.

#### § 126. List of interjections.

In this final paragraph I shall enumerate the most usual interjections with a few quotations from the texts.

a i á :

aiá, na'á, kimmokit *oh, mother, pity me.*

aiá, naʔksinauayisitoki *help me, he might finally hit me.*

aiá, noʔkoié, kímáumaisoʔkanisks? *oh, my son, why do you say (that) aloud?*

aiá, ni'sáuaki, kíntununa ixkyáiaʔpatòmiu *oh, my elder brothers, our (incl.) elder sister had a bear for a lover.*

aiá amói *look here this (scabby place on the buffalo-cow's hide).*

a' e á :

a'eá, ámoksaxks nitsímatoʔtsinèts *alas, for these (an.) was it, that I was nearly drowned.*

a'eá, ni'sáuaki, kokúnunists ákaisauainakuyi *oh, my elder sisters, our (incl.) lodges have disappeared.*

a i é :

aié, kaʔkstáyinomòki *aha, there is nobody to prevent me from killing you.*

á i á u :

aiáu, ákopakiop *come on, we (incl.) shall move.*

aiáu, ákátoʔkoʔkeminai *oh, he (4 p.) has got another wife.*

aiáu, mátsápsiu noʔkóa *oh, my son is crazy.*

aiáu, tsiki, ámokaie kistamó nitáíotsimistakinan *oh, my boy, it is your brother-in-law here that is starving us (excl.).*

aiáu, manikápi, káʔkstamoʔtòki ámoksik ístséksinaikokáiksik *oh, young man, these owners of the snake-painted lodge here might hear you.*

aiáu, aʔkúnauaipokakui annám ninauam *oh, that man there might wake up.*

aiáu, áuttsiu nímoʔtakskimmatapspinàni *alas, now came that, we (excl.) were to become poor from.*

aiáu, máukaiksistápanistsiaie? *alas, why does he tell him something false?*

aiáu, káitsiukomípum *oh, your lice taste good.*

aiáu, máʔkaukoʔtsok úsi *how is that, it must have been given to him by his son-in-law.*

kyaiáu (ki aiáu), mátoʔpsauaiàkatotoa omiksim kyáioiks *alas, those bears will not fail to come.*

kyaiâu (ki aiâu) 'áikimmatâpsiau nokósiks, ážkskáunôtsiau oh, my children must be very poor, they must be awfully hungry.

áio:

áio, ámonisi, kimmòkit, spúmmòkit I implore you, otter, pity me, help me.

áio, pinâminakatòk annái itsiwanai I pray you, do not roll that gambling-wheel eastward.

áio, ámoi kipóžksistâuatòmòkit help me, quickly raise this one for me.

áio, ninna, kimmòkit, piniókat oh, my father, pity me, do not sleep.

áio, amistóm suyéstamiki help us, this water-bull here.

áio, ánnistsaki kožtókis listen, there is a reason to have your ear open.

wá iá 'é:

itáipapisâminai: wá iá 'é, wá iá 'é then he was yelling: help me, help me.

á (but cf. § 125):

á, kipitâkeuaki, kitáikixpuau, kimaukitauasainiopixpuaisks? ah, old women, what are you doing, why do you sit crying?

há:

há, (ni)kámipâkskyài ha, I ought to hit you on the face.

há, ánni kitáiaksinikixkâspi oh, like that you are acting, as if you wanted to fight.

há, nitânistau mážkstàtakàatskâni ah, I told him that he should never get a partner any more.

há, kitáipiskixpuau how is that, you (pl.) are corralling.

há, kážkaukòkos ah, you must just have a child.

há, omistatožtaikazsetakixpi ah, I wonder what he is laughing at.

há +, nitúkètsimàn Nápiua ah, I hate the Old Man.

há, há, kážkaukožkòksuyixpuau ah, ah, you (pl.) must just have eaten raw food.

há yé:

há yé, kážkstayinomòki oh, now there is nothing to prevent me from killing you.

há ié, ážksistsinikatakanistaistotoyiuatsiksaie ninápiim aha, it must be a long time, that he has treated my old man in that way.

ah á u:

ah á u, nitáinoaiàkitapò oh yes, I shall go after (you).

a i a h á u:

a i a h á u, nátâmiskekokitsiminai (nátâmiskikokitsiminai) oh, he (4 p.) was just frozen with his face twisted.

ts á (cf. § 47 and § 121):

ts á, áisopokitamâpiu otožkóiekâni oh, happy times there would be from the food that they got.

á u k e:

áuke, ámo únnasina amiskâpožtsi' ánniaie nožkátsitapaitapiu now, the men were living about in the south.

áuke, nínaiks ká ninaipokâiks óžtožkožsisâu, áukisokinaiau now, when

*the chiefs and the chiefs' children got sick, then they were doctored by everybody.*

áuke, áukàu now, he (the enemy) was asleep.

áuke, nokósaki come in, my children.

áuke, pí't hallo, come in.

itsitsipimaie; nátsitapiu omíksi ekóyiks, omá nínau ki otoxkéman; otáni-kaie: áuke he entered there; there were two persons, the owners of the lodge, a man and his wife; he was told by him: you are welcome.

áuke, nópaàua istópit come on, sit on the nether part of my back.

áuke, kipipótak come on, now quickly make (pl.) a fire.

áuke, nápistsakit come on, close your eyes.

áuke, isapít come on, open your eyes (literally: see).

áuke, ní'sá, imakétsínitsi noxksisokit come on, my elder brother, give me even burnt (stuff) to eat.

áuke, katáukotsipuàua come on, you (pl.) that can, get (pl.) up (katáukotsipuàua is properly an interrogative form).

áuke, Nápi, matakokamapiuatsiks well, Old Man, it is not hard to do.

áuke, nápi, amóksi kokósiks taa kināxkakimmok? now, old man, which of these your children pities you?

áuke, taiá koxxkóa? tell me, which is your son?

ánistsuiaie: tsistseá nāxsisapaxpákixpa? Otánikaie: amóistsi áuke nõxpsiists she said to him: with which (arrows) shall I brush? She was told by him: with these my arrows here.

óki:

ánistsuiaie: óki. Stámomatapipikšiau she said to him: come on. Then they started to run off.

ókí, ákopakiop ámom Akaii'niskuyi come on, we (incl.) shall move to the Many-berries.

ókí, ákotoistòksiskimaup come on, let us (incl.) go and make noise with our feet.

ókí, ákomatau come on, we (incl.) shall go away.

ókí, napí, ómixk, áxkunoxtápauàuaẏkaup come on, partner, let us (incl.) talk about that way.

ókí, áxkúnaykáñopi come on, let us (incl.) go home.

ókí, kitakéixpi, káxkitotois come on, you women, you may go for berries.

ókí, ántononokit come on, look for lice on my head.

áitotakixpísau, óki koxxkóa ápsámmis when they are dancing in a circle, then look for your boy.

k a k ó (as prefix k a k o n -, e.g. kakònomatapókskàsit go on and run): itañiu: kakó then she said: go ahead.

kakó, annotápsamisa kinna come on and look now for your father.

kakó, matáxketatskokit come on, go and get me water to put it in the pot.

kakó, anaxkyápoñaykàt go on, now run home.

kakó, napí, nāxkitápsoot go on, partner, go in (to the water).

kakó, anátsámik go on, hunt (pl.) again.

kakó, nápi, anátsipstòmaykàt go on, old man, run in again.

kakó, nápi, annaxkyótòmozsit go on, old man, go home and tell the women to come out.

m á :

má áistsiksisi look, he is slick behind.

má pannixpi look, she invited me to come back.

má nóxpssists amóistsiauki look here, here are my arrows.

é + i :

é+i, é+i, anní nákoxkoànists oh, oh, let me do the same.

h ù + w i' :

pákotokimà, pákotokimà, hù+wi', hù+wi' ice must begin to crack, ice must begin to crack, hùwi, hùwi.

ò w ũ' :

ki ánniksaie (kénniksaie) nátsitapii itāxkumiau: òwũ' and then two persons it were that cried: òwũ (when the buffalo jumped over the cliff).

k é k a :

kéka, nisisa ninátasau wait, I am just wiping my younger brother.

kéka, napi, nitáutamakotoau wait, partner, I nearly take it (i.e. the bird).

ánistsiuai: kéka, ánistauptit she said to him: wait, sit there.

kéka, matoxpókèpuyit wait, talk back to him.

kéka, náxkipitapaiakàni wait a moment, that I may just have time to confess.

kéka, áxksamai, aksikéuaxtauts? wait, let us (incl.) look at him, what will he do?

á k é k á i á i :

áisimotsiu: ákékáiai, ákékáiai they warned each other: wait, wait.

n í w a à k i (n ó a a k i) :

níwaàki, ni'sáuàki, káxkipaxtoxpau look out, my elder brothers, I might shoot you (pl.) by accident.

níwaàki, áksikskimau go out of the way, he will shoot.

níwaaki, na'á, káxtsisit go out of the way, mother, it might hit you.

nóaaki, na'á, ánnik ápssiuá ákitotatsāxpia look out, mother, there is an arrow that will fall down (on you).

nóaaki, na'á, ánnima apisánima ákitapsàkotsiu look out, mother, that pot there will boil over.

h a ' a i à m (á ' à i o m à) :

ánistsiuai: natsisa istsisúixtat. Otánikaie: há'aiàm she said to him: put your food on my legging. She was told by him: it is pretty near.

itskunakatsiixkaie; amóí matápiuaie ániixk: há'aiàm he shot at it (at the bird); this people said: pretty near.

itspskùnakiu; á'aiomà he then shot up; pretty near.

ánistsiuai: natsikists. Otánikaie: á'aiomà she said to him: my moccasins. She was told by him: pretty near.

nóa'aiomà'a náxksamaitsikitsimyoťsixpa I am pretty near that I wipe it off with my hands (nóa'aiomà'a contains a personal prefix!).

naχtskáie (náχtskáyé):

aistauánis "naχtskáie?", piŋsásamis *if he comes saying "which way?", do not look out at him.*

támsokoχtsimiu omá akéu, amóisk áuanin: naχtskáie? *then that woman suddenly heard that somebody here was saying: which way?*

t a m á s á :

tamásá, noχkástau, máχkoχkoχkèms *poor thing, he thinks that he might get a wife.*

tamásá Okoáisaua kimmatapsiua *the poor thing, Belly-fat, he is to be pitied.*

tamásá, nitáikimatskiôpiau *the poor things, they are all sitting with pitiful faces.*

t a m á i i k i n i s à :

tamáïkinisà, tsimáχtau noχkáitapòàχtau? *poor thing, where is she going to? (properly a dependent question).*

## CORRIGENDA.

In the following list only such misprints and errors are mentioned as might cause real misunderstanding.

- P. 5, l. 22. Read: ákakàuhòp.  
P. 17, l. 21. Read: ótakèsina.  
P. 38, l. 12. Read: pokáuai.  
P. 63, l. 1. Read: mǎχ- (instead of: -mǎχ-).  
P. 64, l. 23. Read: Dove society (instead of: Yellow-Dove society).  
P. 66, l. 17 from beneath. Read: kúmonuinam.  
P. 83, l. 28. Cancel the comma after omá.  
P. 86, l. 20. Read: na'á.  
P. 92, l. 26. Read: anákau (instead of: anáukau).  
P. 95. Insert after l. 14: When used of animates, anni(i)sk and anniskaie are obviatives.  
P. 97, l. 17 from beneath. Add: When used of animates, amoi(i)sk is an obviative.  
P. 100, l. 3 from beneath. Read: áiàksikòkuixk.  
P. 113, the last three lines. Read: nitúyi mátanistsiu *he did the same again* (licked it) (nitúyi is used adverbially; the verb has the intransitive form, notwithstanding the animate gender of the word denoting the thing which was licked, viz. atsís *legging*).  
P. 127, l. 9 from beneath (second column). Read: ómoχtsistsippoχpi.  
P. 131, l. 5 sq. Cancel: nitsitamitstsixpinan kaχtomínaiks, and its translation.  
P. 145, l. 5. Read: *always* (instead of: *away*).  
P. 165, l. 23. Read: five (instead of: six).  
P. 166, l. 27. Insert between *he* and *was*: (4 p.).  
P. 176, l. 25. Cancel the second *hi*.  
P. 198, l. 10 from beneath. Read: mánisaikoyin.  
P. 204, l. 15 from beneath. Cancel the second. moyists.

## CONTENTS.

	Page
PREFACE	
CHAPTER I. <i>Phonology.</i>	
§ 1. Preliminary remarks . . . . .	1
§ 2. Key to the symbols used . . . . .	3
§ 3. Waverings in sound and inconsistencies in spelling . . . . .	5
§ 4. Intermutational phenomena . . . . .	6
§ 5. Stress . . . . .	9
CHAPTER II. <i>Formation of nouns.</i>	
§ 6. General remarks . . . . .	11
§ 7. Composition . . . . .	12
§ 8. Deverbative nouns . . . . .	15
§ 9. Denominative nouns . . . . .	16
CHAPTER III. <i>Flexion of nouns.</i>	
§ 10. Gender . . . . .	18
§ 11. Number . . . . .	21
§ 12. Case-relations . . . . .	24
§ 13. The absence of the dative-concept . . . . .	26
§ 14. Allocution . . . . .	27
CHAPTER IV. <i>Flexion of nouns (continued).</i>	
§ 15. Independent and subordinate forms . . . . .	29
§ 16. The suffix -a ki . . . . .	36
§ 17. Demonstrative endings . . . . .	37
§ 18. Relative endings . . . . .	41
§ 19. Nominal predicate . . . . .	43
CHAPTER V. <i>Flexion of nouns (continued).</i>	
§ 20. Initial changes . . . . .	47
§ 21. Possessive prefixes . . . . .	49
§ 22. Possessive suffixes . . . . .	52
§ 23. The suffix -m (i) . . . . .	55
§ 24. Possessive paradigms . . . . .	55
CHAPTER VI. <i>Adjectives.</i>	
§ 25. Independent attributive adjectives . . . . .	59
§ 26. Prefixed adjectives . . . . .	60
§ 27. Predicative adjectives . . . . .	66
§ 28. Degrees of comparison . . . . .	67



CHAPTER VII. *Personal and possessive pronouns.*

§ 29. Independent personal and possessive pronouns . . . . .	70
§ 30. Conjunct personal and possessive pronouns . . . . .	72
§ 31. The prefix <i>auat</i> - <i>self</i> . . . . .	76

CHAPTER VIII. *Demonstrative pronouns.*

§ 32. General remarks . . . . .	78
§ 33. <i>amo</i> . . . . .	78
§ 34. <i>amisto</i> . . . . .	82
§ 35. <i>oma, o<sub>q</sub>mi</i> . . . . .	82
§ 36. <i>omista, omistsi</i> . . . . .	87
§ 37. <i>anno</i> . . . . .	87
§ 38. <i>anna, anni</i> . . . . .	88

CHAPTER IX. *Relative pronouns and suffixes.*

§ 39. General remarks . . . . .	94
§ 40. <i>anna<sub>χ</sub>k, annixk, anni(i)sk</i> . . . . .	95
§ 41. <i>aia<sub>χ</sub>k, aiixk</i> . . . . .	97
§ 42. <i>amo<sub>χ</sub>k, amoi(i)sk</i> . . . . .	97
§ 43. <i>oma<sub>χ</sub>k, omixk, omi(i)sk</i> . . . . .	98
§ 44. <i>anno<sub>χ</sub>k, ansto<sub>χ</sub>k</i> . . . . .	100
§ 45. Forms in <i>-a<sub>χ</sub>ks</i> . . . . .	101
§ 46. The relative suffix <i>-pi</i> ( <i>-<sub>χ</sub>pi, -xpi</i> ) . . . . .	101

CHAPTER X. *Interrogative pronouns.*

§ 47. <i>who and what</i> . . . . .	104
§ 48. <i>which</i> . . . . .	105
§ 49. <i>where-being</i> . . . . .	107
§ 50. The occasional use of interrogatives as relatives . . . . .	108
§ 51. The suffix <i>-<sub>χ</sub>tau</i> in dependent questions . . . . .	108

CHAPTER XI. *Indefinite pronouns.*

§ 52. <i>a certain one</i> . . . . .	110
§ 53. <i>other, another</i> . . . . .	110
§ 54. <i>the same</i> . . . . .	113
§ 55. <i>somebody, something, nobody, nothing, none</i> . . . . .	115
§ 56. <i>all, every, each</i> . . . . .	115
§ 57. <i>many and few</i> . . . . .	116

CHAPTER XII. *Numerals.*

§ 58. Independent cardinals . . . . .	119
§ 59. Numeral prefixes . . . . .	121
§ 60. Ordinary numeral verbs . . . . .	122
§ 61. Numeral verbs for counting days and nights . . . . .	123
§ 62. Numeral verbs for counting years . . . . .	123
§ 63. Numeral verbs expressing price . . . . .	124
§ 64. <i>half</i> . . . . .	125
§ 65. Ordinals . . . . .	127



	Page
§ 66. Multiplying adverbs . . . . .	129
§ 67. Distributive numerals (first series) . . . . .	129
§ 68. Distributive numerals (second series) . . . . .	130
§ 69. Numerals modified by prefixes . . . . .	130

CHAPTER XIII. *Verbs.*

§ 70. Introductory remarks . . . . .	133
§ 71. Transitive and intransitive . . . . .	134
§ 72. Unipersonal verbs . . . . .	136
§ 73. Indefinite passive . . . . .	137
§ 74. Reflexive and reciprocal . . . . .	140
§ 75. Causative-permissive and causative proper . . . . .	141
§ 76. Accommodative . . . . .	142
§ 77. Frequentative . . . . .	144
§ 78. Transformative . . . . .	145
§ 79. Possessive . . . . .	146
§ 80. Denominative characterized by - k a - . . . . .	147

CHAPTER XIV. *Verbs (continued).*

§ 81. General moods. Affirmative, negative, interrogative, dubitative . . . . .	149
§ 82. General remarks on the special moods . . . . .	157
§ 83. Indicative . . . . .	157
§ 84. Imperative . . . . .	158
§ 85. Conjunctive . . . . .	160
§ 86. Subjunctive . . . . .	167
§ 87. Potentialis (irrealis) . . . . .	169
§ 88. Modal prefixes . . . . .	171
§ 89. Aspect . . . . .	174
§ 90. Completion . . . . .	176
§ 91. <i>still, yet, not yet</i> . . . . .	178
§ 92. The prefix a k (s) - . . . . .	179

CHAPTER XV. *Verbs (continued).*

§ 93. Personal prefixes . . . . .	181
§ 94. Personal endings and pluralizers . . . . .	182
§ 95. General remarks on centrifugality and centripetality . . . . .	183
§ 96. Centrifugality and centripetality in the indicative . . . . .	184
§ 97. Centrifugality and centripetality in the imperative . . . . .	185
§ 98. Centrifugality and centripetality in the conjunctive . . . . .	185
§ 99. Centrifugality and centripetality in the subjunctive . . . . .	186
§ 100. Centrifugality and centripetality in the potentialis (irrealis) . . . . .	187
§ 101. The suffix - i n a i . . . . .	187
§ 102. The suffix - a i e . . . . .	188
§ 103. The suffix - a k i in verbal forms . . . . .	188
§ 104. Relative and other special suffixes of the verb . . . . .	189

CHAPTER XVI. *Verbs (continued).*

§ 105.	Intransitive verbs with 3 p. sing. ind. in -u (a)	192
§ 106.	Intransitive verbs without characteristic ending of the 3 p. sing. ind.	193
§ 107.	Intransitive verbs with 3 p. sing. ind. in -m	193
§ 108.	Transitive animate verbs in -au, -iu	194
§ 109.	Transitive animate verbs in -tau, -tsiu	195
§ 110.	Transitive inanimate verbs in -ixp (-ip) and -tsixp (-tsip)	196
§ 111.	Transitive inanimate verbs in -tozp (-top)	197

CHAPTER XVII. *Verbs (continued).*

§ 112.	Composition of nominal stems with verbal forms	198
§ 113.	Composition of verbal stems with verbal forms	201
§ 114.	Affixes denoting attitude	205
§ 115.	Prefixes denoting local and instrumental relations	206
§ 116.	Prefixes denoting temporal relations	210
§ 117.	Prefixes denoting manner	213
§ 118.	Prefixes denoting degree of intensity	217
§ 119.	Other modifying prefixes	218

CHAPTER XVIII. *Independent adverbs, conjunctions, particles.*

§ 120.	The localizers in -xt (-oxt) and -xtsi (-oxtsi)	221
§ 121.	Pronominal adverbs	224
§ 122.	Temporal adverbs	227 <sup>a</sup>
§ 123.	Adverbs of manner	228
§ 124.	Conjunctions	228
§ 125.	Affirmative and negative particles	228

CHAPTER XIX. *Interjections.*

§ 126.	List of interjections	231
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